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*Selections from the chief Publications of the Half-year.*

RECOLLECTIONS  
OF A  
Classical Tour  
THROUGH VARIOUS PARTS OF  
GREECE, TURKEY, & ITALY,  
MADE IN  
THE YEARS 1818 AND 1819,  
BY  
PETER EDMUND LAURENT.

With coloured plates, 4to. price £1 18s. boards.

[Mr. Laurent left Oxford in 1818, in company with two members of the University. They passed over the Alps, by the Mount Cenis road, crossing Piedmont and the fertile valley of Lombardy, through the towns of Turin, Milan, Mantua, Verona, Vicenza, and Venice. From the last place they proceeded to Trieste, where, after making an excursion to the ruins of Pola, they embarked for Constantinople. In the course of the voyage they visited the Trojan plain, and the probable site of Illium. Dreading to face the plague, which then raged in the northern provinces of Greece, they re-embarked at Constantinople for Athens; thence passed into the Peloponnesus; saw the remains of Corinth, Sicyon, Nemea, Argos, Mantinea, Sparta, Messene, Phigalia, Olympia, Patræ, &c. &c. At Patræ, our travellers embarked for the Ionian Islands, thence passed to Italy, touched at Otranto, Brudisi, and Barletta, and returned homeward through Naples, Rome, and Florence. The following interesting passages will convey accurate notions of the elegance of his style.]

MURDER OF WINCKELMANN.

**I**T was at Trieste that Winckelmann was assassinated by a villain named Arcangeli. This man had been a cook in the house of the Count Cataldo, at Vienna, and had been condemned to death for several crimes, but had received his pardon; he met his victim on the road from Vienna to Rome, and gained his confidence by affecting to

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have a great love for the fine arts. Winckelmann was occupied in a room of his inn, writing some notes for a new edition of his *History of Art*, when Arcangeli interrupted him by asking him to see some medals; hardly had the antiquary opened the trunk which contained them, when his murderer threw on his neck a running knot, and endeavoured to strangle him; not being able to succeed in his purpose, the sanguinary villain pierced him in several places with a knife; he was immediately seized and executed for his crime; but his punishment did not repair the loss which literature experienced by the death of Winckelmann. The venerable antiquary lived sufficiently long to receive the spiritual consolations of his church, and to dictate his will, by which he named Cardinal Albani his sole legatee.

Winckelmann was the son of an obscure tradesman of Stendal, in Brandenburg: by indefatigable exertions he raised himself to a most conspicuous rank in the study of antiquity; he was member of nearly all the literary societies in Europe, and his name will be ever dear to artists.

The account of Pola furnishes us with an interesting anecdote of Ariosto.

ARIOSTO.

I have often been surprised to find the name of Orlando or Rolando, so frequently attached to ruins in Italy and the neighbouring countries; Castello di Orlando is a name given near Naples and in Magna Grecia, to almost every one of the towers which, in former times, served as fastnesses for those bands of robbers which ravaged the country, and bade defiance even to Spanish despotism. This may be accounted for by the great diffusion of Ariosto's poem, the nature and variety of which render it, perhaps, more attractive than any other to the lower orders. Of this it is well known the poet had a convincing proof: falling, during a ramble over the Appenines, among a band of robbers, they were on the point of taking from him his purse,



and perhaps, his life; but having recognised in him the author of Orlando, they threw themselves at his feet, intreated pardon for their intended injury, and, singing his verses, guarded him to a place of greater security.

#### NAUTICAL POLITENESS.

Our schooner was manned by Illyrian sailors; they were very dirty, certainly more civil, but I doubt whether so skilful as the seamen of northern kingdoms; those tempests of long duration, to which the Atlantic sailor is often exposed, are unknown in more confined seas, where, in every part, a secure harbour is at hand, to shield the battered vessel from the rage of the sea. In a summer voyage, they have little more to do than to eat and drink, tell horrid tales of pirate's cruelty, and hail each ship that passes; this last practice is never neglected, and the mode of executing it proves forcibly that some portion of that proneness to compliment which characterises Italy and all other nations swayed by despotic governments, may transfuse itself even into the dominions of Neptune. An English ship hails in a manner rough and abrupt—"Ho the ship—whither bound—where from:" in the Mediterranean, all communication must be preceded by the hoisting of the colours, and the compliment: "*Buon giorno Signor Capitano e tutta la compagnia, buon giorno*;" while every question is ended by a "*di grazia*," which is made to reverberate for several seconds in the speaking trumpets.

#### TURKISH CHURCH-YARD AT SCIO.

Near the town on the sea shore, is seen a vast burial ground, appropriated to the Turks; the cause of its being so extensive is, that their religion forbids the burial of more than one person on the same spot of ground; the graves are indicated by stones, inscribed with gilt Arabic characters; they are shaded with cypress, aloes, and the other trees by most nations regarded as expressive of grief. Viziers and other great men have a *kubbe*, that is, a tower and monument beautifully built, placed over their graves. People of a middle station have two stones placed upright, one at the head, the other at the feet. One of these stones has the name of the deceased, elegantly written; to which is added, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse, a prayer of this or the like form, at the direction of the heir; *Dâma Allaho halahi rahmataho*,—may God shew eternal mercy to him. If a

man is buried, upon the top of the stone is a Turkish turban; if a woman, another sort of ornament is placed there. The stone at the feet is the same in both. The sepulchral chapels erected in memory of some saints of Islamism and of the sultans, are called *turbeh*. These buildings are generally placed in the gardens of the mosques, founded by these princes; they are very richly adorned. The grave, which is in the middle of the chapel, is covered with a wooden chest, wrapped in red velvet, enriched with gold and precious stones, and having different verses of the Koran embroidered on it; towards the side where reclines the head of the defunct monarch, is seen a piece of the veil which has covered the shrine of Mecca, (for no Moslem must be buried without a piece of that sacred cloth,) over which is a muslin turban. Silver rails, incrustated with mother-of-pearl, surround the grave, at the extremities of which are two lofty chandeliers with tapers. The interior of these chapels is magnificently adorned with marble, porcelain, and golden inscriptions. Lamps, ever lighted, hang from the roof, and the *turbeh*dars, or keepers of the tomb, are constantly reading chapters of the Koran for the repose of the soul of the sultans. Constantinople contains about twenty of these *turbeh*s. The Turkish burial grounds are always placed near the towns, and, being kept clean and adorned with verdure, are agreeable yet impressive objects; they are never imagined to be haunted, a circumstance more to be attributed to their attractive appearance, than to any strength of mind peculiar to the followers of Mahomet. Indeed, one can see no reason why the resting-place of our departed friends, should be in the most dirty and melancholy spots, or why their remains should be so often and so unnecessarily disturbed.

#### THE THOUGH.

The *though* is a horse's tail, stained red, and stuck upon a pole, with a gilt knob at the top: this is one of the military ensigns of the Turks, and the dignity of a Vizier is determined by the number of these horses' tails which he is allowed to carry before him. Besides the *though*, each dozen of men has, when on march, a small standard, the number of which causes the army to be crowded with flag-bearers, who in battle are worse than useless; the Turkish soldiers think it no disgrace to loose their colours, excepting, however,



ever, the holy banner of Mohammed, which in battle is kept at a convenient distance from the field, and at the first appearance of a defeat, is precipitately removed. The Janissaries conceive military glory to consist in a strenuous defence of their kettles and spoons.—*Quid Rides?* Is it more rational to place honour in the defence of a piece of tattered silk, or of a monstrous two headed black eagle?

ILLIUM AND THE PLAIN OF TROY.

The precise site of Troy was long an object of dispute among the ancient critics; Strabo, in the thirteenth book of his geography, gives a most accurate account of the country, and after throwing forth many hints, which, in modern times, have been made good use of, leaves the question undecided. Demetrius, a native of Skepsis, a town not situated far from Alexandria of Troas, passed his life in an unsuccessful search for the spot, and only concluded that the town in his days called Illium, could not be, according to the description of Homer, upon the same spot as the ancient city of Priam.

This Illium, of which the ruins are pretty well determined, was placed near the sea; its Acropolis was shown as the Pergamus of Troy. To the north of the hill on which it was erected, flowed a small rivulet, which they denominated the Simoeis; it united with a stream, or rather river, which rolled its waters down the plain from Mount Ida, and threw itself into the Hellespont; this river was called the Scamander. Pliny, in his geographical description of the world, mentions this modern Illium in a manner which proves, beyond a doubt, that he regarded it as built on the site of ancient Troy.

Till the last century the question remained undecided, as Strabo had left it; but in the year 1785, Le Chevalier, an accurate and laborious traveller, discovered a spot in the plain, or rather at the foot of Ida, which seemed better to answer the description of the poet: it was a hill near the village of Bounar-Bashi, which he chose for his Pergamus: the river which before every traveller had regarded as the Scamander, was now proved to be the Simeois, and the former Simeois remained without a name; much was said concerning the hot and warm sources of the newly-found Scamander. Other travellers, with an imagination less heated, visited this spot; they found the distance

from Bounar-Bashi to the Hellespont, too great; they discovered that the sources of the new Scamander, instead of being one warm and the other cold, were both warm: many difficulties were raised against the system of Le Chevalier, and rebutted with warmth by his friends. Two parties immediately divided the classic world; one contended for the truth of the minute, and often fanciful details, of Le Chevalier; while others denied the truth of many of the most important facts brought forward by that geographist. Both parties were violent, and, as generally happens in such cases, equivocation took the place of truth, passion that of argument.

To conciliate the two parties is a task which I have neither the wish nor the talent to perform; I have too often experienced, that when once discord has reared her head in religion, in politics, or in literature, argument is the last instrument to which resort must be had to check its influence—blustering ignorance generally crushes one of the factions, and the tyranny of the other necessarily ensures a temporary quiet. When I visited the plain of Illium, I had heard but little of the dispute in question. I, indeed, knew that some persons had endeavoured to prove the Trojan war a fable; but I rejected the idea, as a Christian does that of infidelity, from which, in future life, he guesses much harm may perhaps accrue, while with certainty he knows that no bad effects can ensue from his adhering to the tenets of his ancestors. If it be proved that the truth of the main facts contained in the Iliad is chimerical, what will become of the history attached to them? Are we to betray to all-devouring scepticism so many interesting records? If we prove that Helen, that Paris, that Achilles, that Troy itself never existed, the interest felt in reading the works of Homer must necessarily be diminished, the pleasure will be no longer so great, and the bard, whose poems have nearly exhausted the whole fund of human knowledge would be more neglected than even he now is.—Apollo and the muses defend us from so dire a misfortune!

The scenery, as to the islands, the seas, the mountains, or in a few words, as to its general features, corresponds, certainly as much as one can expect, with the description of Homer; Lemnos, Imbros, Tenedos, Ida, the Chersonesus, and the Hellespont, are found in the same relative situation as a cursory reader



reader of the *Iliad* would imagine them to be placed; the plain itself, however, did not answer my expectations.—I did not, certainly, hope to be able to distinguish the very walls of the town: as well might I have expected to have seen the Greek ships arranged upon the strand, or Hector and Achilles striding over the fields; but I thought I should have seen some eminence worthy of being the Pergamus—some river worthy of being called the Scamander; the usual fate of classic travellers awaited me—I was disappointed.

The water was so shallow that we found it impossible to land with dry feet; the sailors offered to carry us on their backs to the shore: the experiment was first tried by an unfortunate Florentine, who, during the whole voyage, had suffered much from sea-sickness, a disorder ever the subject of ridicule among sailors; he mounted the broad shoulders of one of our Istrian seamen, but hardly had he rode fifty yards in this style, before a well-pretended stumble threw him headlong into the sea;—"experientia docet," we tucked up our trowsers, threw off our stockings and shoes, and with praiseworthy ardour, waded to the land.

#### PUBLIC BATHS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The very frequent recurrence of ablutions, enjoined by the wisdom of Mohammed, to preserve his followers from the disorders produced in a warm climate by an accumulation of dirt on the skin, has caused pious individuals to erect fountains in almost every street of the Turkish cities, and even on the border of the roads, far distant from any town; the tomb of the founder is generally placed in the neighbourhood, and is surrounded with trees, which offer a delightful shade to the wearied traveller. These fountains are generally built in the Moorish style, and adorned with Arabic inscriptions.

To the same precept of cleanliness we may attribute the number of warm baths seen in Turkey: every village has its hammam or public bath, and every large house is provided with the same convenience. These thermæ are heated by a subterraneous vault, which serves as a furnace, and is filled with logs of wood, above which, and immediately below the marble pavement of the building, is a large cauldron of water, which is kept in a constant state of ebullition; tubes placed in the interior of the walls carry off the steam,

while others furnish the interior with hot water from the cauldron, and with cold water from a contiguous cistern. The bather, having paid to the keeper of the bath the price of entrance, is shewn into a square room, along the walls of which runs a wide seat, covered with cushions; he here leaves his clothes, and girding round his body a wide piece of cotton, which hangs from his waist to his ancles, and placing his feet in a pair of wooden clogs, to preserve them from the burning heat of the floor, he proceeds through several rooms successively increasing in warmth, to the interior chamber. This chamber is built in a circular shape, and covered by a cupola, in which there are many openings covered with very thick glass, which gives a free passage to the light, but not to the visual rays of the curious; a circular dais on the pavement indicates the position of the cauldron, which is immediately underneath; small fountains and marble basins are seen at equal distances round the wall.

#### TEMPLE OF THESEUS.

This celebrated ruin, which is well preserved, stands on a large open place, where a rope-maker was exercising his trade when we passed; this spot is enlivened in the evening with the youthful games of many Athenian boys; it was near this temple, according to Pausanias, that stood Ptolemy's gymnasium and the forum. A part of the temple is now used as a church, dedicated to St. George: it is closed by a door made of flat iron bars, at which the Turks with most disgraceful impiety, amuse themselves in trying the force of their muskets. In the chancel are the graves of three English travellers, who have paid the debt of nature in this country: one is that of the unfortunate Tweddell; by his side is buried a Mr. Walker, who fell a victim to a fever produced by fatigue and heat. The inscription upon Tweddell's grave is engraved in the true antique style, without stops, or separations; it cannot be read without considerable attention and study: it is indeed astonishing that men should be willing to sacrifice to the mania of imitating the very errors of the ancients, the striking effect which so beautiful an epitaph would produce on every reader were it legible. A grave was digging for a Mr. Phillips, who had died while making the tour of the Morea: he had quitted Athens in August, a time when disease rages



rages with violence in the Peloponnesus; relying upon the strength of his constitution, he had refused to follow the advice given him by the consuls to defer his journey till the autumn: he departed, neglecting even to provide himself with medicine: we saw his name scratched upon one of the columns of a temple in Arcadia, near which the peasants told us he was seized with a fever, which threw him into delirium: we recorded his premature death under his name. By the uneducated, both Greeks and Mohammedans, it is imagined that after interment the body of a Frank is conveyed by some invisible power to his native land.

The Theseum is comparatively small, but its effect is striking: in shape it is similar to the Parthenon: the beautiful frieze with which it is decorated, represents part of the histories of Hercules and Theseus: it is most entire of all the Athenian monuments, and long may the protecting genius of Greece defend it from the defiling touch of the Turkish mason, and the no less destructive dilapidations of European *virtuosi*.

#### WEDDING AT ATHENS.

Every traveller who has visited Athens for a few days, returns with a description of the weddings, burials, and christenings at which he assisted: whether during our stay Hymen had ceased to inspire the Athenian youths, and death to strike, *æquo pede*, I cannot determine; but I assure you, although we remained at Athens more than a month, we witnessed no funeral, and were present at one wedding only;—the happy couple was not of the highest rank: that you should not, however, accuse my journal of being deficient in the article of matrimony, I shall add to this chapter of musty antiquity an account of one of the most extraordinary and ridiculous scenes I ever witnessed.

It was on a Sunday afternoon; the heat was excessive, and we were occupied in arranging our journal; my ear was struck with the monotonous sound of a Greek tambour, and the noise of people hurrying through the street; I followed them, and after turning through two or three lanes, came to the spot whence the sound proceeded. Some dirty musicians, with a tambour, a fiddle, and a guitar, were dancing, playing, and singing; after them came a Greek damsel, supported by two grave matrons, and followed by a long

string of dames hoary with age; she was the bride, and notwithstanding the thermometer stood at 96°, was covered with mantles and furs; her fingers' ends and joints were stained red; the lower part of her eyes were tinged with a blue colour, and her cheeks were ornamented with stars of black dye and leaf gold: a dirty urchin, walking backwards, held a mirror in such a manner that the young woman had her image constantly before her.

They moved literally at a snail's pace; the people threw from their windows and doors bottles of orange water, which perfumed the air, and the crowd, loud in their expressions of joy and congratulation, augmented as we advanced, hurrying round the bride, whose brow was never bent with a frown, and whose lips were never crossed with a smile during the ceremony.

The procession stopped at the house of the bridegroom; the bride was seated in an arm chair, and placed on the right of the house door: on the opposite side was seated her husband; his hairless head uncovered; by him stood a Turkish barber, holding in his hand a circular looking-glass (similar to that with which Venus is represented) and other shaving instruments: the music continued playing, and the crowd shook the air with their shouts. Each placing a few *parats* on the barber's looking-glass, sprinkled with orange water the face of the bridegroom, and kissed him on the forehead and the eyes: the money thus collected was to procure a comfortable establishment for the young people; I subscribed my share, but preferred dispensing with the kisses. A Greek, an old man, whose age was a sufficient excuse for the joke, pushed me towards the bride, whom I was consequently obliged to salute amidst the loud cheers of the assembly:—how the ceremony ended I cannot tell you, as the day fell, and I returned home ere all had embraced the bridegroom.

#### DILAPIDATIONS AT ATHENS.

Before I quitted Athens, I, however, saw enough to convince me that it is proper that the magnificent works of the Greek sculptors should be placed under the safe guard of a nation fond of art, rather than be left exposed to the senseless fury of the Turks, the depredations of private collectors, and the insults of ignorant travellers. Hardly do any persons quit the Acropolis, without clipping from its monuments some



some relic to carry back to their country : this rage for destroying has been carried so far, that the elegant Ionic capitals, which I before mentioned, have nearly disappeared and not one of the Caryatides now stands entire. The last time I visited the citadel, when taking a farewell view of the Pandroseon and the Hall of Erechtheus, I was much displeased at seeing an English traveller, an officer of the navy, (for such his uniform bespoke him to be,) standing upon the base of one of the Caryatides, clinging with his left arm round the column, while his right hand, provided with a hard and heavy pebble, was endeavouring to knock off the only remaining nose of those six beautifully sculptured statues. I exerted my eloquence in vain to preserve this monument of art.

#### ANTIQUARIAN RAGE.

The eager desire of tourists to obtain some relics of antiquity is so well known in Argos, that when walking the streets, you are repeatedly stopped by the natives to examine the articles they have found in the vicinity. A kaloieros, or monk, drew from his breast, with great care, what he conceived to be a precious antique; it was a Roman crucifix, broken from its cross. This recalls to my memory a similar scene, which I witnessed at Athens. A young man shewed me a French half-penny, of Louis the Fifteenth, imagining it to be a valuable medal; one of my companions inquired with pretended eagerness, the price he asked for the coin; the youth significantly raised the fingers of his right hand, and pronounced the words, *πέντε χίλια*, (five piasters.)

#### ST. PAUL.

As St. Paul remained at Corinth some time, you may readily conclude that a relic of this holy man must still be shewn. While we were examining the Pirenian chambers, a young Greek lad offered to conduct us to the grotto of Paul, (*Spelia tou agiou Paulou*;) we followed him by a craggy path to the foot of the walls of the citadel. A natural cave is seen, where the saint is said to have dwelt during part of his stay at Corinth. A seat in the stone is pointed out also, as having served him for a bed; and a small rock, perhaps once covered with earth, is said to have furnished him with his humble fare. On this spot a small chapel has been erected; it is greatly venerated by the Greeks of Corinth, who, once a year, make a procession hither from the

town, with as much pomp as the extreme poverty of the church will allow.

#### TURKISH RECKONING OF TIME.

"What o'clock is it?" was usually the first question I had to answer any Greek traveller whom I met on the road; this proceeds, perhaps, rather from their mode of calculating by time distance between places, than from mere curiosity; nothing, however, pleases a Romaic peasant so much, as a sight of the machinery of a watch; when very small, he gazes at it with wonder. Most of the richer individuals among the Turks, carry in their girdle a large watch, generally of London manufacture, inclosed in a tortoise-shell case, and fastened round their necks with a silver chain; this they shew with no small pride to the Frank traveller, and a smile of content never fails to cross their frigid countenances when they hear pronounced the word "London," written on the dial; so attached are they to goods of English manufacture. The Turks reckon their hours from six in the morning to six in the evening, so that mid-day falls with them at six o'clock. This mode of reckoning time is, perhaps, in part derived from the Italians, who reckon, (at least in the southern parts of Italy,) from sunset to sunset, twenty-four hours; by this means they have the extreme disadvantage of starting from a variable point; and it is only by a reference to their almanack that they can set their watch so as to give them twenty-four o'clock at sun-set. Our mode of keeping time is known in Naples by the name of "*ora di Francia*," or "*di Spagna*."

#### SPARTA.

The ruins of Sparta are now, like many others in Greece, distinguished only by the general denomination of "*Palaio Chorio*;" they are situated on the western side of the Eurotas, and are very extensive. We easily distinguished the theatre, which must have been a most magnificent edifice; we saw also the broad hill on which stood the citadel. We were shewn likewise a bridge of one arch, made of large uncemented stones; it crosses the Tiasus, and to judge from its shape, must be very ancient; it is situated near a small Greek chapel, sacred to "*Agios Giorgios*." Some square ruins of walls, constructed from very massy stones, are also seen in different parts.

I regretted much not having a better guide; the person who conducted us, a Bardouniote.



Bardouniote, seemed completely ignorant of the place; our questions were answered in barbarous accents, which, by their roughness at least, called to the memory the language of the Dorians. The common answer to every question is, *ixevro go*, know I? (*ἴξευρω ἔγω*)

The peasantry near the Eurotas are evidently much less civilized than those of the northern parts of the Morea; they greet, however, the travellers, whom curiosity leads to cross their lands, with a welcome which we were told proceeded not from the lips only; the hand is placed on the heart, and the words *kale erchetai*, *affendi mou*,—"welcome, Sir," are pronounced with the smile of hospitality. Some were harvesting the rice in the marshes, near the banks of the Eurotas; while on the citadel of ancient Sparta, others were beating out the maize: for this purpose, twelve horses were fastened abreast, and driven circularly round a post, about which the ears had been scattered.

#### GREEK MONASTERIES.

A Greek monastery is inhabited by two descriptions of monks—the *kaloieros* and the *papa*. No one is admitted into either of those classes, without the consent of the whole fraternity: no member of the society can marry without forfeiting his character of monk. The *kaloieros* or *kalogeros*, (for the word is of disputed orthography, some affirming that it is derived from *καλός* and *ἱερός*; others, that it is deduced from *καλός* and *γέρον*), is of the inferior order: his duty is to clean the chapel of the building, to tend its flocks and herds, and to wait on the *papas* or fathers. The little community is governed by a person, the nomination of whom depends upon some rich neighbouring Greek, or the bishop; he is called the *egoumenos*: he must always be in priest's orders, and his duty is to assemble and take the opinion of the *papas* in all cases of mutual interest—as the nomination of a new member, the exaction of the Pashà, or the purchase of new lands. Each monastery pays a certain tribute, according to its revenue: that of Vourkano pays yearly eighteen hundred piasters; but this does not always suffice to preserve them from the sacrilegious depredations of the Moslems. When the monastery is in the vicinity of a Turkish settlement, the fathers, if rich enough, procure a guard of some Albanian soldiers, or a Turkish Janissary.

Although generally plunged in the deepest ignorance, it is not to be inferred that all the monks who inhabit these sacred buildings are entirely without the advantages of literature. The acquirements of many are such as surprise those who consider the difficulty of obtaining knowledge in this secluded land: those acquirements are, however, confined to a smattering of their own theology, a slight acquaintance with the ancient Greek or Hellenic, and a knowledge of the lives of their saints. Books are rarely met with in the interior of the Morea, and it is not improbable that it is one of the causes of the barbarism which pervades this part of Greece. As in Italian, so in modern Greek, every syllable is pronounced, and each letter bears constantly the same sound; children consequently learn to read Romaic and Italian with a rapidity much greater than one accustomed only to the slow progress made in the English schools, would easily be brought to believe. I am, therefore, convinced, that the distribution of improving and entertaining books would be speedily followed in these provinces by an extension of knowledge—the only incentive which will ever rouse the Greeks from their present degrading torpidity.

#### SANTA MAURA.

The canal which separates Santa Maura from Albania, is not above half a mile broad; it is frequently crossed in canoes, or *monoxyla*, and, at certain seasons of the year, the inhabitants find no difficulty in wading from shore to shore; in milder weather, the wind blows up this canal in an easterly direction, from sun-rise till past noon; it then shifts, and generally blows from the west. The modern town is built in the most unhealthy part of the island, and close to several salt-pits; these are formed on the coast, and separated from the sea by sluices, which admit the water into a shallow preserve, the heat of the sun sufficing to effect crystallization. The fort is placed between the town and the opposite shore of Albania, at the extremity of a peninsula, joined to the land by a narrow and semi-circular isthmus, three miles long, and is surrounded with shoals, abounding in fish of different kinds. A shorter communication is obtained by the remains of a narrow Turkish aqueduct, which crosses the shallows: it consists of above three hundred arches, and, in windy weather, the passage is by no means



means safe, as the pedestrian runs the risk of being blown into the sea. The garrison consisted of about three hundred men, commanded by Captain Ross, a gentleman whose hospitality is unbounded.

A beautiful road, shaded by olive-trees, leads from the modern town to the ancient Leucas. About three miles distant, the ruins are seen on an eminence, covered with vineyards, at the foot of which is a copious fountain, adorned with a pompous Veneto-Latin inscription; the walls are of Cyclopean masonry, and very extensive: no edifices can be clearly traced, although heaps of ruin are seen on all sides. We were shewn an ancient mill, dug, up on this spot: it was hewn in the infancy of mechanic art; a hemispherical stone, revolving within a corresponding vase of granite, reduced the corn to powder. On the opposite shore of Albania is seen a castle, containing a garrison of soldiers belonging to Ali Pasha.

Near the ruins of Leucas, a gibbet has been erected, from which, inclosed in a cage of iron, hangs the corse of an inhabitant of this island; he murdered his father, his mother, his brothers, and his sisters, and then fled from his country; but the long arm of justice seized the paricide; he was taken in the Morea, brought to Santa Maura, and executed. His example struck with indescribable terror the Ionians, few of whom dare approach the spot where the body is exposed. The execution of this individual took place at the time General Campbell commanded in these islands. The necessary, although severe justice of this gentleman, produced a most salutary effect; the islanders then learnt, for the first time, that pardon was not as before, to be obtained by money.

We crossed several fine groves of olive. The green turf under the trees, produces abundance of mushrooms. The peasants were gathering the fruit; some standing on the branches, were beating down the olives, striking, according to Pliny's advice, always in one direction, and with a gentle force; others were picking them up, and transporting them in hampers to the town.

#### MODERN PATRIOTISM.

Negotiations were carrying on, during our stay at Corfu, between the lord high commissioner of the Ionian states, and an ambassador from Ioanina. An anecdote was mentioned to us which I cannot refrain from repeating, as it

affords an example of honest patriotism and noble disinterestedness, which would have honoured a Phocion or a Fabius. The ambassador, it seems, had received orders from his sovereign to hasten the negociation by making some presents to the secretary of the high commissioner: in one of their conferences the Mussulman made known his intentions; the secretary led him to a window of the palace, and, pointing to the highest mountain of the island, told him, 'Were that mountain a mass of gold, and your master to offer it to us, he would not obtain Parga one moment ere the dictates of justice had been fulfilled.'

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## MEMOIRS OF THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF THE South of Italy, PARTICULARLY THE CARBONARI.

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Translated from the Original MS. 8vo. Price 12s.

[The subject of this work is one which has attracted great attention and much curiosity in Europe, and we are happy in being able to gratify our readers by the volume before us, which contains the most interesting details of this very extraordinary institution. At the same time it is too evident that the author is a partizan, whose object is to impugn the objects of political reformers.]

#### PRINCIPLES OF THE SECT.

The following extract, from the 1st chap. of the statutes of Carbonarism, will tend to explain the real or pretended principles of the sect.

*Of the General Doctrine of the Order.*

Art. 1. Good Cousinship is principally founded on religion and virtue.

Art 2. The place of meeting is called the *Baracca*; the space surrounding it, the *Forest* or *Wood*; the interior of the lodge, the *Vendita*.

Art 3. The members are called Good Cousins; they are divided into two classes—apprentices and masters.

Art. 4. Tried virtue and purity of morals, and not Pagan\* qualities, ren-

\* *Pagano* may be translated prophane, belonging to the uninitiated.



der men worthy of belonging to the Carbonari.

Art 5. An interval of six months is necessary before an apprentice can obtain the rank of master. The principal obligations imposed on him are, to practise benevolence, to succour the unfortunate, to show docility of mind, to bear no malice against Carbonari, and to enrich his heart with virtue.

Art 6. By this article it is forbidden to talk directly or indirectly against religion, and by

Art. 7. All conversation on religion in general, or against good morals, is prohibited.

Art. 8. Every Good Cousin Carbonaro is obliged to preserve inviolable secrecy concerning the mysteries of the order.

Art. 9. No G. C. C. may communicate what is done or decided upon in his Vendita, to those who belong to another, much less to persons not initiated.

Art 10. The greatest reserve is recommended to the members, towards all persons with whom they are not well acquainted, but more especially in the bosoms of their own families.

#### THEIR SYMBOLS.

The cross should serve to crucify the tyrant who persecutes us, and troubles our sacred operations. The crown of thorns should serve to pierce his head. The thread denotes the cord to lead him to the gibbet; the ladder will aid him to mount. The leaves are nails to pierce his hands and feet. The pick-axe will penetrate his breast, and shed the impure blood that flows in his veins. The axe will separate his head from his body, as the wolf who disturbs our pacific labours. The salt will prevent the corruption of his head, that it may last as a monument of the eternal infamy of despots. The pole will serve to put the skull of the tyrant upon. The furnace will burn his body. The shovel will scatter his ashes to the wind. The barracca will serve to prepare new tortures for the tyrant. The fountain will purify us from the vile blood we shall have shed. The linen will wipe away our stains, and render us clean and pure. The forest is the place where the Good Cousins labour to obtain so important a result. The trunk with a single branch signifies that, after the great operation, we shall become equal to the N. C.

One would be tempted to doubt the

reality of the last explanation of the symbols, if it were not given in the minutes of a legal trial. Perhaps the compiler of the notes may have confounded the verbal depositions of some of the witnesses, with what he thought he had read in the catechisms of the sect.

#### RECEPTION OF A CARBONARO.

The *Preparatore* (preparer) leads the Pagan (uninitiated) who is to become a member, blindfold, from the closet of reflection to the door of the Baracca. He knocks irregularly; the *Copritore* (coverer) says to the second assistant, "A Pagan knocks at the door." The second assistant repeats this to the first, who repeats it to the Grand Master; at every communication the Grand Master strikes a blow with an axe.

*Grand Master.* See who is the rash being who dares to trouble our sacred labours.

This question having passed through the assistants and *Copritore* to the *Preparatore*, he answers through an opening in the door.

*Preparatore.* It is a man whom I have found wandering in the forest.

*Gr. M.* Ask his name, country, and profession.

The secretary writes the answer.

*Gr. M.* Ask him his habitation—his religion.

The secretary notes them.

*Gr. M.* What is it he seeks among us?

*Prep.* Light; and to become a member of our society.

*Gr. M.* Let him enter.

(The Pagan is led into the middle of the assembly; and his answers are compared with what the secretary had noted.)

*Gr. M.* Mortal, the first qualities which we require are frankness, and contempt of danger. Do you feel that you are capable of practising them?

After the answer, the Grand Master questions the candidate on morality and benevolence; and he is asked if he has any effects, and wishes to dispose of them, being at the moment in danger of death; after being satisfied of his conduct, the Grand Master continues, "Well, we will expose you to trials that have some meaning—let him make the first journey." He is led out of the Baracca—he is made to journey through the forest—he hears the rustling of leaves—he is then led back to the door, as at his first entrance.



*Gr. M.* What have you remarked during this journey.

(The Pagan relates accordingly.)

*Gr. M.* The first journey is the symbol of human virtue; the rustling of leaves, and the obstacles you have met in the road, indicate to you, that weak as we are, and struggling in this vale of tears, we can only attain virtue by good works, and under the guidance of reason, &c. Let him make the second journey.

The Pagan is led away, and is made to pass through fire; he is made acquainted with the chastisement of perjury; and, if there is an opportunity, he is shown a head severed from the body, &c. &c. (He is again conducted into the Baracca.)

*Gr. M.* The fire through which you have passed is the symbol of that flame of charity which should be always kindled in our hearts, to efface the stains of the seven capital sins, &c. &c.

Make him approach the sacred throne, &c.

*Gr. M.* You must take an irrevocable oath; it offends neither religion nor the state, nor the rights of individuals: but forget not, that its violation is punished with death.

The Pagan declares that he will submit to it; the Master of the Ceremonies leads him to the throne, and makes him kneel on the white cloth.

*Gr. M.* Order!

*The Oath.*

I, N. N. promise and swear, upon the general statutes of the order, and upon this steel, the avenging instrument of the perjured, scrupulously to keep the secret of Carbonarism; and neither to write, engrave, or paint any thing concerning it, without having obtained a written permission. I swear to help my Good Cousins in case of need, as much as in me lies, and not to attempt any thing against the honour of their families. I consent and wish, if I perjure myself, that my body may be cut in pieces, then burnt, and my ashes scattered to the wind, in order that my name may be held up to the execration of the Good Cousins throughout the earth. So help me God.

*Gr. M.* Lead him into the middle of the ranks (this is done.) What do you wish? The Master of the Ceremonies suggests to the Pagan, to say *light*.

*Gr. M.* It will be granted to you by the blows of my axe.

The Grand Master strikes with the axe—this action is repeated by all the

apprentices—the bandage is removed from the eyes of the Pagan. The Grand Master and the Good Cousins hold their axes raised.

*Gr. M.* These axes will surely put you to death, if you become perjured. On the other hand, they will all strike in your defence, when you need them, and if you remain faithful. (To the Master of the Ceremonies,) Bring him near the throne, and make him kneel.

*Gr. M.* Repeat your oath to me, and swear to observe exactly the private institutions of this respectable Vendita.

*The Candidate.* I ratify it and swear.

*Gr. M.* Holding the specimen of wood in his left hand, and suspending the axe over the head of the candidate with his right, says, "To the great and divine Grand Master of the universe, and to St. Theobald, our protector—In the name and under the auspices of the Supreme Vendita of Naples, and in virtue of the power which has been conferred upon me in this respectable Vendita, I make, name, and create you an apprentice Carbonaro."

The Grand Master strikes the specimen which is held over the apprentice's head, thrice; he then causes him to rise, and instructs him in the sacred words and touch.

*Gr. M.* Master of the Ceremonies, let him be acknowledged by the apprentices.

The Assistants anticipate the execution of this order, by saying to the Grand Master, "All is according to rule, just and perfect."

*Gr. M.* Assistants, tell the respective orders to acknowledge, henceforth, the Good Cousin N. N. as an active member of this Vendita, &c. &c.

The symbolical picture is explained to the new apprentice.

*Gr. M.* At what hour do the Carbonari terminate their sacred labours?

*First Assistant.* As soon as the sun no longer enlightens our forest.

*Gr. M.* What hour is it?

*Second Assistant.* The sun no longer enlightens our forest.

*Gr. M.* Good Cousins, as the sun no longer enlightens our forest, it is my intention to terminate our sacred labours. First, let us make a triple salutation (Vantaggio) to our Grand Master, divine and human, (Jesus Christ)—To St. Theobald, our protector, who has assisted us and preserved us from the eyes of the Pagans—Order! To me, ———, &c. The signs and salutations (Vantaggi) are performed.

*Gr. M.*



Gr. M. I declare the labours ended; retire to your Baracca—retire in peace.

CIRO ANNICHIARICO.

Ciro Annichiarico, born of parents in easy circumstances, in the little town of Grottaglie, was destined to the ecclesiastical profession, and entertained it very young. His brothers are respectable farmers; his uncle, the Canonico Patitaro, is a man of learning and information, and never took any part in the crimes of his nephew. The latter began his infamous career by killing a young man of the Motolesi family, in a fit of jealousy. His insatiable hatred pursued every member of the family, and exterminated them one after the other, with the exception of a single individual, who succeeded in evading his search, and who lived shut up in his house for several years, without ever daring to go out. This unfortunate being thought that a snare was laid for him when people came to tell him of the imprisonment, and shortly after of the death of his enemy; and it was with difficulty that he was induced to quit his retreat.

Ciro, condemned for the murder of the Motolesi, to fifteen years of chains, or exile, by the tribunal of Lecce, remained there in prison four years, at the end of which time he succeeded in escaping. It was then that he began, and afterwards continued for several years, to lead a vagabond life, which was stained with the most atrocious crimes. At Martano, he penetrated with his satellites into one of the first houses of the place, and, after having offered violence to its mistress, he massacred her with all her people, and carried off ninety-six thousand ducats.

He was in correspondence with all the hired brigands; and whoever wished to get rid of an enemy, had only to address himself to *Ciro*.—On being asked by Captain Montorj, reporter of the military commission which condemned him, how many persons he had killed with his own hand, he carelessly answered, "*E chilo sa? saranno tra sessanta e settanta.*" Who can remember? they will be between sixty and seventy. One of his companions, Occhiolupo, confessed to seventeen; the two brothers, Francesco and Vito Serio, to twenty-three; so that these four ruffians alone had assassinated upwards of a hundred!

The activity of *Ciro* was as astonishing as his artifice and intrepidity. He handled the musket and managed the

horse to perfection; and as he was always extremely well mounted, found concealment and support, either through fear or inclination, every where. He succeeded in escaping from the hands of the soldiers, by forced marches of thirty and forty miles, even when confidential spies had discovered his place of concealment but a few hours before. The singular good fortune of being able to extricate himself from the most imminent dangers, acquired for him the reputation of a necromancer, upon whom ordinary means of attack had no power, among the people, and he neglected nothing which could confirm this idea, and increase the sort of spell it produced upon the peasants. They dared not execrate, or even blame him in his absence, so firmly were they persuaded that his demons would immediately inform him of it. On the other hand, again, he affected a libertine character; some very free French songs were found in his portfolio when he was arrested. Although a priest himself, and exercising the functions of one when he thought it expedient, he often declared his colleagues to be impostors without any faith. He published a paper against the missionaries, who, according to him, disseminated illiberal opinions among the people, and forbade them on pain of death to preach in the villages, "because, instead of the true principles of the Gospel, they taught nothing but fables and impostures." This paper is headed, "*In nome della Grande Assemblea Nazionale dell' Ex-Regno di Napoli, o piuttosto dell' Europa intera, pace e salute.*"—"In the name of the Great National Assembly of the Ex-Kingdom of Naples, or rather of all Europe, peace and health."

He amused himself sometimes with whims, to which he tried to give an air of generosity. General d'Octavio, a Corsican in the service of Murat, pursued him for a long time with a thousand men. One day, *Ciro*, armed at all points, surprised him walking in a garden. He discovered himself, remarking that the life of the general was in his hands; "but," said he, "I will pardon you this time, although I shall no longer be so indulgent, if you continue to hunt me about with such fury." So saying, he leaped over the garden wall and disappeared.

Having hidden himself, with several of his people, behind a ruined wall at the entrance gate of Grottaglie, the day when General Church and the Duke of San



San Cesario, accompanied by some horsemen, reconnoitered the place, he did not fire upon them; he wished to make a merit of this before the military commission, but it was probably the fear of not being able to escape from the troops who followed the general, that made him circumspect on this occasion.

Ciro's physiognomy had nothing repulsive about it; it was rather agreeable. He had a verbose, but persuasive eloquence, and was fond of inflated phrases. Extremely addicted to women, he had mistresses, at the period of his power, in all the towns of the province over which he was constantly ranging. He was of middle stature, well made, and very strong.

Ciro put himself at the head of the *Patrioti Europei* and *Decisi*, two associations of the most desperate character. The institution of the *Decisi*, or Decided, is so horrible, that it makes one shudder to contemplate it. The author has given a fac-simile of their patent, which will give some idea of the society. The following is the translation:

#### THE DECISI.

##### *The Salentine Decision. Health.*

##### No. 5. Grand Masons.

The Decision of Jupiter the Thunderer hopes to make war against the tyrants of the universe, &c. &c.

The mortal Gaetano Caffieri is a Brother Decided, No. 5, belonging to the Decision of Jupiter the Thunderer, spread over the face of the earth, by his Decision, has had the pleasure to belong to this Salentine Republican Decision. We, invite, therefore, all philanthropic societies to lend their strong arm to the same, and to assist him in his wants, he having come to the decision that he will obtain liberty or death. Dated this day, the 29th of October, 1817.

Signed,

Pietro Gargaro, (the Decided Grand Master, No. 1.)

Vito de Serio, Second Decided.

Gaetano Caffieri,

Registrar of the Dead.

As the number of these Decided ruffians was small, they easily recognized each other. We find that the Grand Master bears the No. 1; Vito de Serio, No. 2; the proprietor of the patent Gaetano Caffieri, No. 5. He figures himself among the signatures with the title of Registrar of the Dead, which does not allude to the deceased members

of the society, but to the victims they immolated, and of whom they kept a register apart, on the margin of which were found blasphemies and infernal projects. They had also a Director of Funeral Ceremonies, for they slaughtered with method and solemnity. As soon as the detachments employed on this service found it convenient to effect their purpose, at the signal of the first blast of a trumpet they unsheathed their poignards; they aimed them at their victim at the second blast; at the third, they gradually approach their weapons to his breast, "con vero entusiasmo" (with real enthusiasm,) in their cannibal language, and plunged them into his body at the fourth signal.

The four points which are observable after the signature of Pietro Gargaro, indicate his power of passing sentence of death. When the Decisi wrote to any one to extort contributions, or to command him to do any thing—if they added these four points, it was known that the person they addressed was condemned to death in case of disobedience. If the points were not added, he was threatened with milder punishment, such as laying waste his fields, or burning his house.

The Salentine Republic, the ancient name of this district, was also that destined for their imaginary republic, which they called "un anello della Repubblica Europa," a link of the European Republic.

The symbols of the thunderbolt darting from a cloud and striking the crowns and tiara; the fasces and the cap of liberty planted upon a death's head between two axes; the skulls and bones with the words, "Tristezza, Morte, Terrore, and Lutto," sadness, death, terror, and mourning, sufficiently characterise this association. Their colours were yellow, red, and blue, which surround the patent.

#### HORRIBLE WARFARE.

Worn out with fatigue, Giro and three companions, Vito di Cesare, Giovanni Palmieri, and Michele Cuppoli, had taken refuge in Scaserba, to repose themselves for a few hours. He had previously provided this and all the farm-houses of the district with ammunition and some provisions. When he saw the militia of S. Marzano marching against him, he appeared very little alarmed, and thought he could easily cut his way through their ranks. He shot the first man dead who came within range of his musket. This delay cost



cost him dear: the militia sent information to Lieutenant Fonsmore, stationed at the "Castelli," a strong position between Grottaglie and Francavilla. This officer hastened to the spot with forty men. On seeing him approach, Ciro perceived that a vigorous attack was to be made. He shut up the people of the Masseria in the straw magazine, and put the key in his pocket. He took away the ladder from the tower, and loaded, with the aid of his companions, all the guns, of which he had a good number.

Major Bianchi, informed of what was going on, sent on the same evening a detachment of Gendarmes, under Captain Corsi, and the next morning proceeded in person to Scaserba. The siege was formed by one hundred and thirty-two soldiers; the militia, on which little dependence was placed, were stationed at some distance, and in the second line.

Ciro vigorously defended the approaches to his tower till sun-set. He attempted to escape in the night, but the neighing of a horse made him suspect that some cavalry had arrived, whose pursuit it would be impossible to elude. He retired, after having, killed, with a pistol shot, a Voltigeur, stationed under the wall he had attempted to scale. He again shut himself up in his tower, and employed himself till morning in making cartridges. At day-break, the besiegers tried to burst open the wooden gate of the outer wall; Ciro and his men repulsed the assailants by a well-directed fire; they killed five and wounded fourteen men. A barrel of oil was brought, in order to burn the door. The first man who set fire to it was shot through the heart. A four pounder, which had been conveyed to the place, was pointed against the roof of the tower. Several of this calibre had been contrived to be easily dismounted from their carriages, and transported on mules. This little piece produced great effect. The tiles and bricks which fell, forced Ciro to descend from the second story to the first. He was tormented with a burning thirst, for he had forgotten to provide himself with water, and he never drank wine. This thirst soon became insupportable.

After some deliberations with his companions, he demanded to speak with General Church, who, he believed, was in the neighbourhood, then to the Duke of Jasi, who was also absent; at last, he resolved to capitulate with Major Bian-

chi. He addressed the besiegers, and threw them some bread. Major Bianchi promised him that he should not be maltreated by the soldiers. He descended the ladder, opened the door of the tower, and presented himself with the words, "Eccomi, Don Ciro!"—Here I am, Don Ciro!

He begged them to give him some water to quench his thirst, and desired them to liberate the farmer and his family, who had been shut up all this while in the straw magazine. He declared that they were innocent, and distributed money among them.

He suffered himself to be searched and bound patiently; some poison was found upon him; he asserted that his companions had prevented him from taking it. He conversed quietly enough with Major Bianchi on the road to Francavilla, and related to him the principal circumstances of his life.

In prison, he appeared to be interested for the fate of some of his partisans, begging that they might not be persecuted, and declaring that they had been forced to do what they had done.

He had entertained some hope, till the moment when he was placed before the council of war, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Guarini. He addressed a speech to him, taking him for General Church. He insisted on speaking to that officer: this was refused, and he resigned himself to his fate, dryly saying, "*Ho capito*," I understand.

When condemned to death, a missionary offered him the consolations of religion; Ciro answered him with a smile, "*Lasciate queste chiacchiere; siamo dell' istessa professione; non ci burliamo fra noi*."—Let us leave alone this prating; we are of the same profession; don't let us laugh at one another.

As he was led to execution, the 8th of February, 1818, he recognized Lieutenant Fonsmore, and addressed these words to him, "*Se io fosse Re, vi farei Capitano*,"—If I were King, I would make you a captain. This officer was the first to arrive at Scaserba with his soldiers.

The streets of Francavilla were filled with people: there were spectators even upon the roofs. They all preserved a gloomy silence.

On his arrival at the place of execution, Ciro wished to remain standing; he was told to kneel, he did so, presenting his breast. He was then informed



formed, that malefactors, like himself, were shot with their backs towards the soldiers; he submitted, at the same time advising a priest, who persisted in remaining near him, to withdraw, so as not to expose himself.

Twenty-one balls took effect, four in the head, yet he still breathed and muttered in his throat: the twenty-second put an end to him. This fact is confirmed by all the officers and soldiers present at his death. "As soon as we perceived," said a soldier, very gravely, "that he was enchanted, we loaded his own musket with a silver ball, and this destroyed the spell." It will be easily supposed, that the people who always attributed supernatural powers to him, were confirmed in their belief by this tenaciousness of life, which they considered miraculous.

A  
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, ANTIQUARIAN  
AND  
*Picturesque Tour*  
IN  
FRANCE AND GERMANY.

BY THE  
Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.R.S. S.A.  
[3 vols, 8vo. £10. 10s.]

THE AUTHOR'S OBJECTS.

Since the establishment of peace upon the continent, the English have eagerly yielded to their well-known ardour and curiosity, in visiting those countries, from which, by a long and apparently interminable warfare, they had been previously excluded. In consequence, the wealth of Great Britain has been plentifully scattered upon the soils of Italy, France, and Germany; and we have been favoured, in return, with many valuable publications, in which the character, antiquities, or peculiarities of the countries visited, have been described with ability and truth.

But, while one traveller has confined his attention exclusively to *antiquities*; and another, with the same exclusive attention, to the produce and properties of *soil*; while a third has travelled for purposes of *political economy*—a fourth as a *statistical*, and a fifth as a *picturesque* tourist; there have been few or none who have favoured us with an account of the TREASURES OF THE LIBRARIES, or of the general literary character of those people with whom

they have associated; for the first time, therefore, the public will here find some attempt to gratify them in this important branch of information.

TOMBS AT ROUEN.

M. Gilbert, the author of the *Description*, &c. says that both Rollo and his son William were buried in the south side of the cathedral, and that their remains were discovered about the year 1200, on building the present choir; and that it was Rollo who built the ancient cathedral, "according to Ordericus Vitalis and other contemporaneous historians." p. 56. But it must be observed that Vitalis, (as may be seen in Duchesne's *Hist. Norman Script.* p. 459.) says not a word about it: and from the pages of the *Neustria Pia*, (9, 300-1.) it should seem that Rollo was rather partial to the Abbey of St. Ouen. He died 917. On the opposite side chapel is the tomb of his son William Longespée, who was taken off treacherously in 944, and his remains carried for interment to the cathedral. The monumental inscriptions of these are as follows:

Pommeraye (p. 68.) having given the more ancient ones.

*Rollo.*

Hic positus est  
Rollo

Normanii ast territi Vastatæ  
Restitutæ

Primus Dux Conditor Pater  
A Francone Archiep. Rotom.  
Baptizatus Anno DCCCCXIII.  
Obiit Anno DCCCCXVII.

Ossa ipsius in veteri sanctuario  
Nunc capite, Navis Primum  
Condita,

Translato Altari, Collocata  
Sunt à B. Maurilio Archiep. Rotom,  
An. MLXIII.

*William.*

Hic positus est

Guillelmus Dictus Longua Spata  
Rollonis Filius,  
Dux Normanniæ

Proditorie Occisus DCCCCXXXIV.

Ossa Ipsius in veteri Sanctuario,  
Ubi nunc est Caput Navis Primum  
Condita, Translato Altari, Hic  
Collocato sunt à Maurilio  
Archiepisc. Rotom.

Anno MLXIII.

But towards the end of the choir, at the back of the high altar, are monumental inscriptions yet more interesting to Englishmen. The brother of Richard, I. Richard I. himself, and John Duke of Bedford. As they are short I shall give them;

*Richard*



Richard I.

Cor

Richardi Regis Angliæ

Normanniæ Ducis

Cor Leonis Dicti

Obiit Anno

- MCXCIX.

Henry the Younger.

Hic Jacet

Henricus junior

Richardi Regis Angliæ

Cor Leonis Dicti Frater

Obiit Anno

MCLXXXIII.

John Duke of Bedford.

Ad dextrum Altaris Latus

Jacet

Joannes Dux Betfordi

Normanniæ pro Rex

Obiit Anno

MCCCCXXXV.

The above is the famous Duke of Bedford, of Bibliomaniacal celebrity. Consult for one minute the *Bibl. Decameron*, vol. 1. p. cxxxvi. There is a curious chapter in Pommeraye's *Histoire de l'Eglise Cathedral de Rouen*, p. 203, respecting the Duke's taking the habit of a canon of the cathedral. He attended, with his first wife, ANNE of BURGUNDY, and threw himself upon the liberality and kindness of the monks, to be received by them as one of their order: "il les prioit d'être reçu parmy eux comme un de leurs frères, et d'avoir tous les jours distribution de pain et de vin, et pour marque de fraternité d'être vêtu du surplis et de l'aumusse: comme aussi d'être associé, luy et sa très généreuse et très illustre épouse, aux suffrages de leur compagnie, et à la participation de tous les biens qu'il plaira à Dieu leur donner la grace d'opérer." p. 204. A grand procession marked the day of the Duke's admission into the monkish fraternity. The whole of this with the Duke's superb presents to the sacristy, and his dining with his Duchess, and receiving their portion of "eight loaves and four gallons of wine," are distinctly narrated by the minute Pommeraye.

JOAN OF ARC.

Turning to the left, in this street, and going down a sharp descent, we observe a stand of hackney coaches in a small square, called *La Place de la Pucelle*; that is, the place where the famous Jeanne d'Arc was imprisoned, and afterwards burnt. What sensations possess one as we gaze upon each surrounding object! — although now, each surrounding object has undergone

a most palpable change.\* Ah, my friend, what emotions were once excited within this small space! What curiosity, and even agony of mind, mingled with the tumults of indignation, the shouts of revenge, and the exclamations of pity! But life now goes on just the same as if nothing remarkable had happened here. The past is forgotten. Nor smoke nor flame is seen; nor the shrieks of the sufferer are heard. Poor Joan! — she is one of the many who, having been tortured as a heretic, have been afterwards revered as a martyr. Her statue was, not very long after her execution, almost adored upon that very spot where her body had been consigned, with execrations, to the flames. As I gazed upon the present wretched sculptured representation of her, I could not but think of the sleepy attempt of Chapelaine, and the more animated effort of our Southey — to immortalize her memory. The prison where Joan of Arc was confined, yet partly exists; and the spot where she was burnt is attested both by a fountain and a statue, in the centre of the square. The present statue is indeed frightful in every respect. It is defective in form, and divested of the costume of the time: two faults which no other beauties (had it possessed any) could have compensated.

ROUEN PRINTING.

The art of Printing is supposed to have been introduced here, by a citizen of the name of MAUFER, between the years 1470 and 1480.

\* The unfortunate sufferer is thus described by a French poet of the latter end of the 15th century.

\* \* \* \*

Et a Rouen en emmenerent  
La Pucelle pour prisonniere.

Elle est très doulce, amiable,  
Moutonne, sans orgueil ne envie,  
Gracieuse, moult serviable,  
Et qui menoit bien belle vie.

Très vouvent elle se confessoit.  
Pour avoir Dieu en protecteur,  
Ne gaire Feste se passoit,  
Que ne receust son Créateur.

Mais ce non obstant les Angloys  
Aux vertuz et biens ne penserent,  
Ainçois en haine des François  
Très durement si la traicterent.

\* \* \* \*

Puis au derrenier la condamnerent  
A mourir douloureusement,  
Et brief l'arderent et brullerent  
A Rouen tout publiquement.

*Les Poesies de Martial de Paris.* Paris  
1724, 12mo. tom 1 p. 120.

Some



Some of the specimens of Rouen *Missals* and *Breviaries*, especially of those by Morin, who was the second printer in this city, are very splendid.

Few provincial towns have been more fertile in typographical productions; and the reputation of TAILLEUR GUALTIER, and VALENTIN, gave great respectability to the press of Rouen at the commencement of the 15th century.

Yet I am not able to ascertain whether this press was very fruitful in *romances*, *chronicles*, and *old poetry*—your beloved objects of research! I rather think, however, that it was not deficient in this popular class of literature, if I am to judge from the specimens which are yet lingering, as it were, in the hands of the curious.

Upon the whole, the soil of Rouen is not at present fertile in the curious lore of antiquity; however it might have once yielded a rich harvest from the prolific seeds sown by Morin, Tailleur and Valentin. I groped about in all direction; and to an hundred earnest enquiries for something curious, or rare, or ancient, was answered that I ought to have been there in the year 1814, when Paris was first taken possession of by the Allies—that my countrymen had preceded me, and had left nothing for future gleaners. I bought however of Lemaitre the last unsold copy, probably in Rouen, as well as in his own warehouse, of *Pommeraye's History of the Abbey of St. Ouen*, to which I have so frequently alluded, and for which I was glad to give a dozen francs.

#### ROUEN MSS.

The first MS. which I opened to examine minutely, was the famous *MISSAL*, supposed with good reason to be of the 11th century; as the dominical table extends from 1000 to 1095. It is called St. Guthlac's book; and the first sentence contains an orison for the protection of that saint. It is a fine beautiful volume, about 13 inches in length, by 9 in width. I shall be particular in my account of it. The first four leaves are written in the usual large semi-Saxon characters of the time. The calendar is in a small hand, with alternate red, blue and gold. In the opinion of the Abbé Gourdin, this is not only a very copious, but a curious calendar; at the end of which we observe a short poem, in hexameter, and pentameter verses, upon the lunar revolutions, the days of the week, and the months of the year. It is also observable that they then used the terms

of the *Easter moon*, *Rogation moon*, and *Whitsuntide moon*. In the preface the name of each person is noticed for whom mass for the repose of his soul is said. The prefatory matter may be said to occupy the first sixteen leaves. The leaves immediately succeeding appear to have been cut out. The work itself follows, precisely in the character, or general style of the Duke of Devonshire's famous *Missal*, written by Godemann, in the 10th century, by command of the great Ethelwold. The illuminated borders, consisting of architectural ornaments, in colours and gold, together with the larger capital letters, are very splendidly executed. On the reverse of the 8th, and on the recto of the 9th leaf of the text, begins the series of illuminated subjects: such as the *Nativity*, *Adoration of the Magi*, &c. The *Flight into Egypt* is singularly represented; Joseph being made to carry the distaff of Mary.

#### CASTLE OF MONTMORENCI.

We ascended with fresh energies imparted from our breakfast. The day grew soft, and bright, and exhilarating: but alas! for the changes and chances of every thing in this transitory world. Where was the warder? He had ceased to blow his horn for many a long year. Where was the harp of the minstrel? It had perished two centuries ago, with the hand that had struck its chords. Where was the attendant guard? Or pursuivants—or men at arms? They had been swept from human existence, like the leaves of the old limes and beech trees by which the lower part of the building was surrounded. The moat was dry; the rampart was a ruin; the rank grass grew within the area—nor can I tell you how many vast relics of halls, banquetting rooms, and bed rooms, with all the magnificent appurtenances of old castellated architecture, struck the eager eye with mixed melancholy and surprise! The singular half-circular and half-square corner towers, hanging over the ever-restless wave, interested us exceedingly. The guide shewed us where the prisoners used to be kept—in a dungeon, apparently impervious to every glimmer of day-light, and every breath of air. I cannot pretend to say at what period even the oldest part of the castle of Montmorenci was built; but I saw nothing that seemed to be more ancient than the latter end of the 15th century. Perhaps the greater portion may be of the beginning of the 16th: but, amidst the



the unroofed rooms, I could not help admiring the painted borders, chiefly of a red colour, which run along the upper part of the walls, or wainscots—giving indication not only of a good, but of a splendid taste. Did I tell you that this sort of ornament was to be seen in some parts of the eastern end of the Abbey of Tumièges? Here, indeed, they afforded evidence on evidence, mingled with melancholy sensations, on conviction of the probable state of magnificence which once reigned throughout the castle. Between the corner towers upon that part which runs immediately parallel with the Seine, there is a noble terrace, now converted into garden ground, which commands an extensive view of the embouchure of the river. It is the property of a speculator residing at Havre. Parallel with this terrace, runs the more modernised part of the castle, which the last residing owner inhabited. It may have been built about fifty years ago, and is—or rather the remains of it are—quite in the modern style of domestic architecture. The rooms are large, lofty, and commodious—yet nothing but the shells of them remain. The revolutionary patriots completely gutted them of every useful and every valuable piece of furniture; and even the bare walls are beginning to grow damp, and threaten immediate decay.

I made several memoranda upon the spot, which have been unluckily, and I fear irretrievably misplaced; so that of this once vast, and yet commanding and interesting edifice, I regret that I am compelled to send you so short and so meagre an account. Farewell—a long and perhaps perpetual farewell—to the castle of Montmorency!

CAEN.

Well, my friend!—I have at length visited the interior of the Abbey of St. Stephen, and have walked over the grave of William the Conqueror, and of Matilda, his wife. I am here very comfortably situated, and shall not think of quitting this place for a week, at least. But as you dearly love the gossip of a travelling journal, I shall take up the thread of my narrative from the spot in which I last addressed you; particularly as our route hither was marked by some circumstances not unworthy of recital.

All the way to Troarn (the last stage on this side of Caen) the country presents a truly lovely picture of pasture

land. There are occasionally some wooded heights, in which English wealth and English taste would have raised villas of the prettiest forms, and with most commanding views. Yet there is nothing to be mentioned in the same breath with the country about Rodwell in Gloucestershire. Nor are the trees of the same bulk and luxuriant foliage as are those in our own country. A fine oak is as rare as an uncut Wynkyn de Worde; but creeping rivulets, rich coppice wood, avenues of elms and limes, and meadows begemmed with butter-cups—these are the characteristics of the country through which we were passing.

It is in vain, however, you look for neat villas or consequential farm-houses: and as rarely do you see groups of villagers reposing or in action. A dearth of population gives to French landscape a melancholy and solitary cast of character. It is in cities that you must look for human beings—and for cities the French seem to have been created. Not any thing like an exemplification of Watteau's enchanting pieces—but I check myself—ladies and gentlemen do not stir abroad to dance, swing, romp, and enjoy a *fête champêtre*.

When storms and clouds obscure the sky,  
And thunders roll and lightnings fly.  
Yet I shall not easily forget the sweep of country, or continuation of pasture land, between Pont L'Eveque and Troarn. This latter village is sufficiently poor. We passed a good house to the left, and a delicious trout stream to the right: but the road itself was absolutely flooded with rain.

The country from Troarn to Caen, gets more into the arable kind; but, though flatter and less ornamented with trees, it is fruitful and more agreeable to the eye. Unluckily the sun had set, and the horizon had become gloomy, when we first discovered the spires to St. Stephen's Abbey—the principal ecclesiastical edifice at Caen. It was hard upon nine o'clock; and the evening being extremely dusky, we had necessarily a very indistinct view of the other churches; but to my eyes, as seen in a lengthened view, and through a treacherous atmosphere, Caen had the appearance of Oxford upon a diminutive scale. The town itself, like our famous university, is built in a slanting direction; though the surrounding country is yet flatter than about Oxford. As we entered it, all the population



seemed collected to witness our arrival. From solitude we plunged at once into tumult, bustle and noise. We stopp'd at the Hotel d'Espagne—a large, but black and begrimed mansion. Here our luggage was taken down; and here we were assailed by garçons de place, with cards in their hands, intreating us to put up at their respective hotels. We had somehow got a recommendation to the Hotel Royale in the Place Royale, and such a union of royal adjuncts was irresistible. Accordingly, we resolved upon moving thither. In a trice our trunks were placed upon barrows, and we marched behind, “in double quick time,” in order to secure our property. The place appeared to improve as we made our different turnings, and gained upon our hotel.

Caen is still life after Rouen: but it has been, and yet is, a town well deserving the attention of the lounging traveller and of the curious antiquary. Its ecclesiastical edifices are more ancient, but less vast and splendid, than those of Rouen; while the streets and the houses are much more wide and comfortable. This place is the capital of the department of Calvados, or of lower Normandy; and its population is estimated at forty thousand souls. It has a public library, a school of art, a college, mayoralty, and all the etce-teras of a corporate society.

In respect to the trade of the town, the two principal branches are lace and cap making. The former trade is divided with Bayeux; and both places together give occupation to twenty thousand pair of hands. People of all ages may be so employed; and the annual gross receipts have been estimated at four millions of francs. But the manufacturers of Lisieux form the chief supplies of the department of Calvados. Yet in cap making only, at Caen, four thousand people have been constantly engaged, and a gross produce of two millions of francs has been the result of such branch of trade. A great part of this manufacture was consumed at home; but more than one half used to be exported to Spain, Portugal, and the colonies belonging to France. They pretend to say, however, that this article of commerce is much diminished both in profit and reputation: while that of table linen is gaining proportionably in both.

There are two distinct academies—

one for Science and Belles Lettres, the other for Agriculture and Commerce. The Lycée is a noble building, close to the Abbey of St. Stephen: but I wish its façade had been Gothic, to harmonise with this latter. Indeed, Caen has quite the air of Oxford, from the prevalent appearance of stone in its public buildings.

Upon the whole, as to general appearance, and as to particular society, Caen may be preferred to Rouen. The costume and manners of the common people are pretty much, if not entirely, the same; except that, as to dress, the cauchoise is rather more simple than at Dieppe and Rouen. Caen is called the dépôt of the English. In truth there is an amazing number of our countrymen here. One family comes to reside from motives of economy; another from those of education; a third from those of retirement; and a fourth from pure love of sitting down in a strange place, with the chance of making some pleasant connexion, or of seeking some strange adventure. Good and cheap living, and novel society, are doubtless the main attractions.

The public edifices, however, demand a particular and appropriate description: and first of those of the ecclesiastical order. Let us begin, therefore, with the Abbey of St. Stephen—for it is the noblest and most interesting on many accounts. It is called by the name of that saint, inasmuch as there stood formerly a chapel on the same scite, dedicated to him. The present building was completed and solemnly dedicated by William the Conqueror, in the presence of his wife, his two sons, Robert and William, his favourite Archbishop Lanfranc, John, Archbishop of Rouen, and Thomas, Archbishop of York, towards the year 1080. Of this interior, very much is changed from its original character. The side aisles retain their flattened arched roofs and pillars; and in the nave you observe those rounded pilasters, or alto-relievo like pillars, running from bottom to top, which are to be seen in the Abbey of Tumièges. The capitals of these long pillars, are comparatively of modern date. To the left, on entrance, within a side chapel, is the burial place of Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror. The tombstone attesting her interment is undoubtedly of the time. Generally speaking, the interior is cold, and dull of effect. A desolate nakedness pre-  
vails



vails, and you are disappointed that you do not see more objects of costliness or curiosity. In the middle of the choir, and just before the high altar, the body of the Conqueror was entombed with great pomp; and a monument erected to his memory of the most elaborate and costly description.\* Nothing

\* "In the middle of the choir, and just before the high altar, was deposited the body of the founder, William the Conqueror, King of England, and Duke of Normandy, under a most stately monument, erected at the expence of his son, William Rufus, and richly adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, by one Odo, a goldsmith of Caen. The top stone of the monument was of *touch*, supported on each side by three pilasters of white marble; and thereon lay the figure of the king, as large as life, dressed in his robes of state; and at the foot, was the following epitaph, composed by Thomas, Archbishop of York:

Qui Rexit Rigidos Northmanos Atque Britanos,  
Audacter Vicit Fortiter Obtinuit  
Et Cœnomanensis Virtute Cœreuit Ensis  
Imperiique Sui Legibus Applicuit  
Rex Magnus Parva jacet Hac Gulielmus  
in Urna,  
Sofficit et Magno Parva Domus Domino  
Ter Septem Gradibus Se Volverat Atque  
Duobus,  
Virginis in Gremio Phœbus et Hic Obiit.  
1087.

In the year 1522, one of the Cardinals, attended by an Archbishop and several dignified ecclesiastics, visiting the town of Caen, was prompted by strong curiosity to see the body of the Conqueror; and having for that purpose, obtained permission from Peter de Martigny, bishop of Castres, who was at that time Abbot of St. Stephens, they caused the tomb to be opened. Upon removing the cover stone, the body, which was corpulent, and in stature greatly exceeded the tallest man then known, appeared as entire as when it was first buried. Within the tomb lay a copper-plate gilt, on which was engraven the like epitaph with that on the outside of the monument, and beneath it was the following inscription in old French:

Le Guillaume tres magnanime,  
Duc de Neustrie pareil a Charlemaigne.  
Passay le mer par un doux vent de sust,  
Pour conquerer toute la grand Bretaigne.  
Puis desployer fis mainte noble enseigne  
Et dresser tentes et pavillons de guerre  
Et ondrier fis comme fil d'araigne  
Neuf cent grand's nefz si tost qui euz pied  
a terre  
Et puis en armes de la partis granderre  
Pour coups recenz au doubte roy herault

now remains but a flat black marble slab, with a short inscription of quite a recent date.

Dont comme preux i'euz toute la deferre  
Non pas sans dur et marveilleux assault  
Pour bien jouter le disloyal ribault.  
Je mis a mort et soixante et sept mille  
Neuf cents dixhuit et par ainsi d'un sault  
Fuz roy d'Anglois tenant toute leur isle  
Or n'est il rue tant soit fort et habile  
Qui quant c'est fait apres ne se repose  
Most m'a deffait que suis it cendre vile  
De toute choses ou jouit une pose.

The Cardinal, who, as well as the rest of the spectators, was greatly surprised at finding the body in so perfect a state, after having been buried near four hundred and fifty years, in order to perpetuate the memory of so remarkable an incident, procured a picture of the royal remains, in the condition they then appeared, to be painted on board, by the most eminent painter of the place, and caused it to be hung up, together with the before-mentioned original inscription, on the wall of the Abbey church, opposite to the monument. The tomb being again carefully closed, remained undisturbed until the year 1562, when the calvinists, in a religious fury, forced it open, in expectation of meeting with immense treasures, but finding nothing more than the bones of the Conqueror, wrapt up in red taffeta, they threw them about the church in great derision, after having broken in pieces the monument, together with the royal effigies which lay thereon. Most of the bones were afterwards collected together by Monsieur de Bras, and delivered into the custody of Father Michael de Canelle, one of the monks and bailly of the Abbey, who carefully lodged them in his cell, with an intent to restore them to their ancient place of sepulture, as soon as the troubles should be ended; but the town being some time after taken by Admiral Chastellion, the religious were driven from the Abbey, and the royal remains once more dispersed.

However, the Viscount de Falaise having at the time of these disturbances obtained from the rioters one of the thigh bones, it was by him afterwards deposited in the royal grave. About the same time, the picture of the Conqueror's remains, as they appeared lying in the tomb, in the year 1522, fell into the hands of Peter Hodé, gaoler of Caen, and one of the rioters, who converted one part thereof into a table, and used the other as a cupboard door; but these being four years afterwards discovered and reclaimed by Monsieur de Bras, remained in his possession till his death, since which time it is unknown what is become of them.



**ABBEY OF THE HOLY TRINITY.**

But you must now attend in a visit to the most interesting public building, perhaps all things considered, which is to be seen at Caen: I mean the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, or *L'Abbaye Aux Dames*.

This Abbey was founded by the wife of the Conqueror, about the same time that William erected that of St. Stephen. It was founded for nuns of the Benedictine order. Ducarel's description of it, which I have just seen in a copy of the *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, in a bookseller's shop, is sufficiently meagre, as are also his plates sufficiently miserable; but things are strangely altered since his time. The nave of the church is occupied by a manufactory for making cordage or twine, and upwards of a hundred lads are now busied in their flaxen occupations, where formerly the nun knelt before the cross, or was occupied in auricular confession.

Having ascended a stone stair-case, we got into the upper part of the choir, above the first row of pillars, and walked along the wall. This was rather adventurous, you will say, but a more adventurous spirit of curiosity had nearly proved fatal to me; for on quitting day-light, we pursued a winding stone stair-case, in our way to the central tower, from hence to have a view of the town. I almost tremble as I relate it. There had been put up a sort of temporary wooden stair-case, leading absolutely to—nothing: or rather to a dark void space. We gained the top of the central tower, which is not of equal altitude with those of the western extremity, and from thence surveyed the town, as well as the drizzling rain would permit us. I saw enough, however, to convince me that the scite of this Abbey is fine and commanding. Indeed it stands nearly upon the highest ground in the town. The crypt beneath the choir, is perhaps of yet greater interest and beauty than the choir itself. Within an old, very old stone coffin, at the further circular end, are the pulverised remains of one of the earliest abbesses. I gazed around with mixed sensations of veneration and awe, and threw myself back into centuries past, fancying that the shrouded figure of *MATILDA* herself glided by, with a look as if to approve of my antiquarian enthusiasm. Having gratified our curiosity by a careful survey of this subterranean abode, we revisited the regions of day-light, and made towards the large

building, now a manufactory, which, in Ducarel's time, had been a nunnery.

The revolution has swept away every human being in the character of a nun; but the director of the manufactory shewed us, with great civility, some relics of olde rosses, rings, veils, lachrymatories, &c. which had been taken from the crypt we had recently visited, on account of erecting some tomb, or elevating some portion of the ground, to the remains of a person of distinction, whether of old or modern times I cannot just now recollect.

**BAYEUX TAPESTRY.**

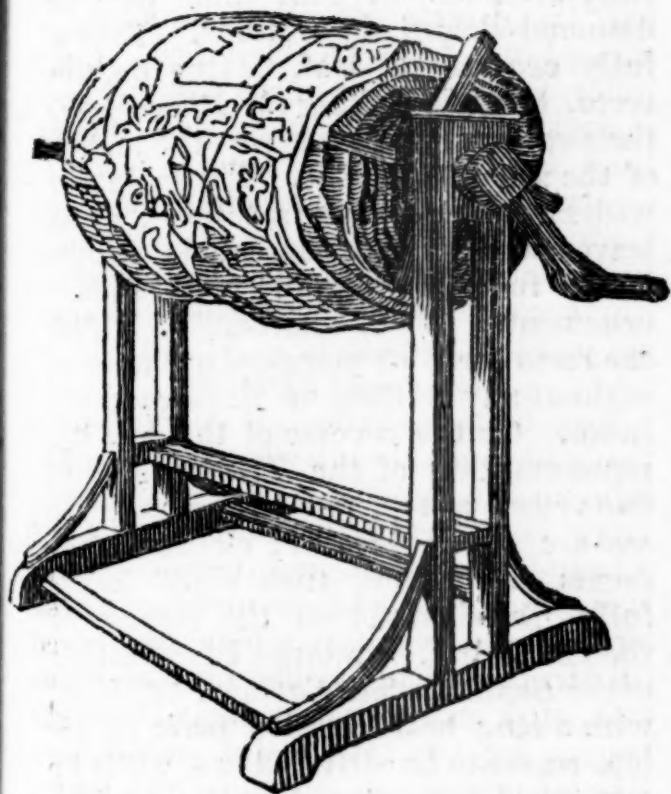
Now then, my friend, it is high time that you should be introduced in proper form to the famous *BAYEUX TAPESTRY*. Let us leave, therefore, paper and printing, for linen and needle-work. It is unnecessary to communicate the hundred little things which occurred till Mr. Lewis had finished his laborious task, after an application of six or eight hours, for two successful mornings. His labours are at an end, and they have been thoroughly successful. I hope to carry with me, throughout France and Germany, this most marvellous fac-simile—stitch for stitch, colour for colour, size for size. Not that I would be understood to under-rate the previous labours of Mr. Stothard, which are in truth equally admirable, only that they are of a different nature, and upon a more extensive scale. Know then, in as few words as possible, that this celebrated piece of tapestry represents chiefly the invasion of England by William the Conqueror, and the subsequent death of Harold at the battle of Hastings. It measures about 214 English feet in length, by about nineteen inches in width; and is supposed to have been worked under the particular superintendence and direction of Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror. It was formerly exclusively kept and exhibited in the cathedral; but it is now justly retained in the town hall, and treasured as the most precious relic among the archives of the city. There is, indeed, every reason to consider it as one of the most valuable historical monuments which France possesses.

It is right, first of all, that you should have an idea how this piece of tapestry is preserved, or rolled up.

You see it here, therefore, precisely as it appears after the person who shews it takes off the cloth with which it is usually covered.

A female





A female unrolls and explains it to you. The first portion of the needlework representing the Embassy of Harold from Edward the Confessor to William Duke of Normandy, is comparatively much defaced, that is to say, the stitches are worn away, and little more than the ground, or fine close linen cloth remains. You are to understand that the stitches, if they may be so called, are threads laid side by side, and bound down at intervals by cross stitches or fastenings, upon rather a fine linen cloth; and that the parts intended to represent flesh are left untouched by the needle. I obtained a few straggling shreds of worsted with which it is worked. The colours are generally a faded or bluish green, crimson, and pink. About the last five feet of this extraordinary roll are in a yet more decayed and imperfect state than the first portion. But the designer of the subject, whoever he was, had an eye throughout to Roman art, as it appeared in its later stages. The folds of the draperies, and the proportions of the figures, are executed with this feeling. Both at top and at bottom of the principal subject, there is a running allegorical ornament, of which I will not incur the presumption to suppose myself a successful interpreter. The constellations, and the symbols of agricul-

ture and of rural occupation, form the chief subjects of this running ornament. All the inscriptions as you have them above, are executed in capital letters of about an inch in length; and upon the whole, whether this extraordinary and invaluable relic be of the latter end of the 11th, or of the beginning or middle of the 12th century, seems to me a matter of rather secondary consideration.

I have learnt, even here, of what importance this tapestry roll was considered in the time of Buonaparte's threatened invasion of our country; and that either after or before displaying it at Paris for two or three months to awaken the curiosity and excite the love of conquest among the citizens, it was conveyed to one or two sea-port towns, and exhibited upon the stage as a most important material in dramatic effect.

To have seen the Bayeux Tapestry is a requital for all my sufferings at sea, and all my tours and détours by land. But in other respects, this is a town well deserving of greater antiquarian research than appears to have been bestowed upon it.

#### BREVIARY OF JOHN DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Pursuing what I imagine to be a tolerably correct chronological order, I am now about to place before you this far-famed *Breviary*, companion to the *MISSAL*, which originally belonged to the same eminent owner, Louis XIV. and of which our countrymen have had more frequent opportunities of appreciating the splendour and beauty than the Parisians; as it is not likely that the former will ever again become the property of an Englishman.

On the recto of the first leaf is the following memorandum. "Breuiere appartenant jadis a Monsieur de Moruilliers Garde des Seaux de France, doné a Messire Camille de Neufaille Abbé d' Ainé et Conte de Laigny par Monsieur de St. Germain le XVe. decembre mil vjc. xxv. de l'hostel de ville-roy a Paris." The calendar, without any ornament, occupies the six following leaves. On the seventh leaf begins the text of the Breviary, with the first Sunday in Advent, accompanied by an elaborate illumination of the Trinity at top, and the patriarchs, &c. below. This illumination is about five inches and one third in height, by four in width. It is surrounded with ornament, and has the arms of the Duke of Bedford



Bedford at bottom. The next forty-eight leaves have on each side a profusion of ornaments of small flowers, in circular or square compartments, generally four illuminations to each page. On the reverse of the forty-ninth leaf is one of the largest illuminations, representing the Nativity. This is succeeded by forty-nine leaves, with the usual small ornaments, in beautiful preservation. Next appears the Adoration of the Magi. We have now travelled through about one hundred and five leaves of the Breviary.

Next follow seventy-seven leaves with square ornaments by way of illumination. Some of these, as well indeed as a few preceding, are by different hands; but upon the whole they are prettily touched, and in the finest possible state of preservation. The seventy-eighth leaf, following this second series, presents us with the first example of the several blanks left within the gilt frames, to be afterwards filled up by the illuminator. There are seven leaves with these gilded frames only; then eight leaves with the margins entirely blank, not having any indication of frames, or capital initials, which latter very frequently contain a head, possibly by way of portrait. Next eight leaves, fully ornamented as at first, with flowers and square frames. Then two more with square and circular ornaments, only slightly indicated in bistre. These are succeeded by a leaf fully ornamented, in square frames: two leaves, with squares and circles only slightly indicated as before, in brown or bistre. Next one leaf very highly ornamented. On the reverse of this is one of the larger illuminations of *Christ's triumphant entry into Jerusalem*—in the finest state of preservation. The flowers in the border are delightfully executed. The arms of the Regent, the Duke of Bedford, are below. Two leaves of square ornaments, slightly indicated in brown, follow; then eight leaves fully ornamented in squares by an inferior hand, as I conceive; the flowered borders, however, are equally good: next two leaves, with the slightest indications of illumination in brown: one leaf fully and delicately ornamented; two leaves entirely destitute of ornament, then one leaf fully ornamented; on the reverse is a large illumination of the *Resurrection*; no rather of the Angel at the Sepulchre, and Mary approaching it.—The guards

are asleep. There are brilliant circular ornaments below.

Next ensue nine leaves, wholly unornamented, followed by four others, fully ornamented, with some oval or diamond-shaped decorations. Then a fully ornamental leaf, having on the recto, *St. John writing the Apocalypse*; the sword as usual is across the mouth of the attendant spirit. Three leaves with circular ornaments, follow; eight leaves wholly unornamented; fifteen leaves fully illuminated with square ornaments. Then another, of which the recto contains marginal ornaments, without any writing on the second column. On the reverse of this leaf is a representation of the *Trinity*, and of two vessels at top, two towers with the sea are at the bottom; circular ornaments are below, then eight leaves fully illuminated: on the reverse of the eighth leaf, is a large illumination of the *Baptism of our Saviour*. St. John, with a long beard, and a book in his lap, seems to be sitting down while he performed the office of baptism. The Almighty is near him: angels, with linen are on the opposite side of the river. The attitude of our Saviour is at once delicate and appropriate. The borders of this piece are beautifully ornamented. Next three leaves without ornament: two more ornamented: on the reverse of the second of these two leaves is the *Last Supper*, of which the architectural component parts are elaborate and beautifully touched. There are two figures to the left, kneeling, which I rather suspect to have been intended for the Duke and Duchess of Bedford. They are very small, but in a perfect state of preservation. Eleven leaves without ornament follow; then eight leaves ornamented only with flowers, the subjects within the square frames not being introduced. These are followed by eight leaves, fully illuminated in square frames by an inferior hand. Next twenty-four leaves, ornamented only with flowers. The square gilt frames are merely indicated, without subjects.

These are succeeded by forty leaves, wholly unilluminated. Then follows a leaf upon the recto of which is a large illumination of a devotional figure praying to *St. Andrew*; at bottom the arms seem to have been purposely obliterated; there are circular ornaments. We have next a leaf entirely illuminated, with square ornaments; then four



four leaves with a very slight indication of ornament in brown. An illumination of the larger kind follows; it is that of *St. Nicholas* preaching, accompanied by square ornaments. A clever composition is at the bottom to the right. One leaf follows, in which the squares are left as blanks; then three leaves not ornamented; next an illuminated leaf, upon the reverse of which is a splendid representation of the *Temple of Jerusalem* on the reverse. The ensuing leaf displays a brilliant decoration, the subject of which is the death of *Ste. Lucie*. The coverlid to the bed made me forget all the coverlids which I had seen in Normandy. The physician, as usual, is examining the urinal, and raising his right hand at the same moment, indicative of despair! This interesting subject is followed by three leaves without ornament; then eight leaves pretty fully ornamented, of which the first, relating to the history of *St. Thomas*, contains a large, brilliant, and rather singular representation of that saint on the recto: on the fourth of these leaves, is a splendid but somewhat more coarsely executed subject, of the figure of *St. Sebastian*. On the eighth is a large illumination representing the acts of *St. Agnes*, apparently by the same hand, very curious and very splendid: then two leaves without ornament.

Next follow seventy-two leaves, fully ornamented, in squares, with about twenty-one or twenty-two of the larger ornaments; among which the death of our *King Edward the Martyr*, and *St. George and the Dragon*, are perhaps the most curious. These leaves, however, absolutely form one series of dazzling splendour; then eight leaves not ornamented. These are succeeded by twenty-nine more, fully ornamented; one of the two larger ornaments displays a subject connected with *St. James*, beautifully minute and curious. Next, two leaves without ornament; then an ornamental leaf, of which the representation of Elizabeth, Mary, and the Infant Christ, is the chief subject. Afterwards two leaves, destitute of ornament followed by a leaf of circular ornaments; then two leaves unornamented. We now commence a series of 120 leaves, fully ornamented with the small illuminations, but among which are only five principal or larger subjects; and, of these, the fifth is the last illumination in the volume. It is not only the last, but it is by much the

most splendid for its execution and for its state of preservation. It is the favourite subject for which the artists of the middle age, and especially the old illuminators, seemed to have reserved all their powers, and upon which they lavished all their stock of gold, ultramarine, and carmine. You will readily anticipate that I am about to add—the *Assumption of the Virgin*. One's memory is generally fallacious in these matters, but of all the exquisite, and of all the minute, elaborate, and dazzling works of art, of the illuminatory kind, I am quite sure that I have not seen any which exceeds this. To equal it, there may be some few: but its superior (of its own particular class of subjects) I think it would be very difficult to discover.

A dreary moor sometimes borders upon a luxuriant flower-garden. Adieu now, to the magical hues and rainbow tints of the illuminator. We turn over sixty-eight leaves destitute of ornament; except it be that some few of them have only the indications of gilt frames without subjects: and two leaves are left entirely blank, with the exception of the ruled lines, for the scribe to write the text. And thus, having gone through this celebrated volume, let me shut it up, and request the worthy Abbé L'Epine to put it away; not, however, without turning round to make my bow to M. Millin, for the kindness of his attention in the accommodations offered to Mr. Lewis, beneath his warm sky-light, and in the midst of his richly furnished library. You cannot fail to have concluded, during the progress of reading the foregoing description, that the Bedford Breviary was, in all probability, executed posterior to the Missal bearing the same name, and that it has been left in a state by no means finished or perfect; and that several artists have tried their skill upon it pages; and that in consequence it exhibits various and unequal merit. Upon the whole, however, it deserves all that has been said of it, either by speech, by pen, or in print. Let me only further add, that the writing is not of a very first rate kind. The letter is a tall, close, gothic character, with a good deal of red intermixed: the black ink is generally pale. The book has been cruelly cropt in the binding, apparently by De Rome, measuring only ten inches in length, by not quite seven in width. It is in a red morocco coat.



## HOURS OF ANNE OF BRITTANY.

The order of this little catalogue of a few of the more splendid and curious illuminated manuscripts, in the Royal Library of France, has at length, my worthy friend, brought me in contact with the magical and matchless volume, usually known by the foregoing title. "Softly tread, 'tis hallowed ground," are the words of a very sweet popular air:—"Gently touch, 'tis fairy art"—says the inspired imagination of every bibliographer of taste and feeling, on turning over the leaves of this enchanting Ritual. My friend, you are to know, in the first place, that of all the volumes in this most marvellous library, the present is deemed **THE MOST PRECIOUS**. Not even the wishes and regulations of royalty itself, allow of its migration beyond the walls of the public library. There it is kept: there it is opened and shewn, and extolled beyond any limits fixed to the admiration of the beholder. It is a rare and bewitching piece of art, I do assure you; and so raising your expectations to their highest pitch, I will allow you to anticipate whatever is wonderful in **FRANCESCO VERONESE**, and gorgeous in **GIROLAMO DEI LIBRI**. Perhaps, however, this is not the most happy illustration of the art which it displays.

Let us "begin at the beginning." You, who have at last become a most determined convert to the bibliopegistic skill of **CHARLES LEWIS**; you, who almost feel a variety of contending twitches and pulsations, if a volume be not coated in the binding of that able artist, will be shocked even to agony, on viewing the black fish-skin cover, with lining of blotches of red, blue and gilt paper (such as of old, in our infantile days, used to distinguish the butterfly-speckled little tomes that "came flying all abroad" from the manufactory of Dan Newbery, of St. Paul's Church-yard celebrity) which protects this book. The first view of this magical volume is doubtless rather disheartening; but the sight of the original silver clasps (luckily still preserved) will operate by way of a comforter. Upon them you observe an ornament, denoting by the letter and the ducal crown, that the book belonged to Anne, Duchess of Brittany. The stamp of its being national property, the yet unsuppressed badge of the foppery of the Revolution, is on the recto of the first leaf; while the initials

**L. A.** and **A. L.** (denoting the union of Anne with Lewis XII.) with the arms of Anne in the centre, are on the reverse of the same leaf. These clasps and these latter marks are original; the cover and the lining are modern. Now for the pleasing task of describing the illuminations. On the reverse of the second leaf we observe the *Dead Christ* and the three *Maries*. The figures are about six inches in height. They are executed with great delicacy, but in a style somewhat too feeble for their size. One or two of the heads, however, have rather a good expression. This illumination is injured in many places, a common fate attendant upon the first embellishments in books of this and of an earlier period.

Opposite to this illumination is the *truly invaluable* **PORTRAIT OF ANNE** herself, surrounded by two attendants, each crowned with a glory; one is displaying a banner, the other holds a cross in her hand. To the left of these attendants, is an old woman hooded, with her head encircled by a glory. They are all three sweetly and delicately touched; but there are many evident marks of injury and ill usage about the surface of the colouring. Yet, as being *ideal* personages, my eye hastily glided off them to gaze upon the illustrious lady, by whose orders, and at whose expense these figures were executed. Her gown is brown and gold, trimmed with dark brown fur; her hair is brown; her necklace is composed of coloured jewels; her cheek has a fresh tint; and the Missal, upon which her eyes are bent, displays highly ornamented art. The cloth upon the table is dark crimson.

Let me only further remark upon this interesting illumination, that the whole is enclosed within a frame of gold, shaded by brown, (like the robes of the Duchess herself) which is again surrounded by black. Perhaps this latter is of a more recent date: certainly it is not calculated to harmonize with the subject it encloses. The *calendar* follows, in which, in one of the winter months we observe a very puerile imitation of flakes of snow, falling over the figures and the landscape below. The calendar occupies a space of about six inches by four, completely enclosed by a coloured margin; then begins a series of the most beautiful ornaments of **FLOWERS, FRUITS, INSECTS**, &c. for which the illuminators of this period were often eminently distinguished. These



These ornaments are almost uniformly introduced in the fore-edges, or right-side margins of the leaves; although occasionally, but rarely, they encircle the text. They are from five to six inches in length, or height; having the Latin name of the plant at top, and the French name at the bottom. Probably these titles were introduced by a later hand. It is really impossible to describe many of them in terms of adequate praise: the downy plumb is almost bursting with ripeness; the butterfly's wings seem to be in tremulous motion, while they dazzle you by their varied lustre; the hairy insect puts every muscle and fibre into action, as he insinuates himself within the curling of the crisped leaves, while these leaves are sometimes glittering with dew, or coated with the finest dawn. The flowers and the vegetables are equally admirable, and equally true to nature. To particularise would be endless:—assuredly these efforts of art have no rival of their kind.

Of the illuminations in the calendar, those representing the customs observed in *February* and *April*, are painted with the most characteristic effect. In many of the back-grounds I recognized the style of architecture, whether for castles or houses, which I had observed in my route through Normandy. The *Gospel of St. John* follows the calendar. The figure of the saint, who is sitting, faces the opening of the gospel; it is about seven inches in height; the countenance is very expressive; but it has received considerable injury from an apparently wanton smear. Next comes the figure of *St. Luke*, the saint is sitting upon a stone seat, (of which the back is richly carved) and holding up with his left hand, slightly supported by his right, a sort of medallion of the Virgin; of which the back ground is gold. This medallion is about two inches and a half in length; *St. Luke* is clothed in a green vest, with a crimson surcoat; of which the folds and shadows are happily managed. The countenance has great merit; it is in a sort of reflected light; perhaps in rather too low a tone, and the features appear rather flat and poor; yet the general effect is excellent. I should add, that the saints are dressed in a sort of Turkish turban of a lilac tint. *St. Matthew* is the next attractive illumination, coming quickly after *St. Luke*. It is in good preservation, as is also an attendant female, with a glory;

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but the colouring of the whole is in a severe and harsh tone. It remains to notice the Evangelist *St. Mark*. In respect to countenance and composition, this saint is executed in a manner superior to either of the preceding. His face, although it be a little too square and short, is full of expression; the back ground is appropriate, and adds to the harmony of the whole. It is really a fine production.

I shall next describe the manner in which some of the more popular subjects of scripture are executed. First, the *Annunciation*. The effect is generally rather feeble; but the countenance of Mary is very sweet. This illumination has in some places received a slight injury. A series of flowered margins ensues; some of them beautifully done: the gold back ground, shaded with brown are admirably managed. The *Visitation* or *Meeting of Elizabeth and Mary*, is rather indifferent. The opposite large illumination, "*Roses de la Marque dancongne*"—"Species rosarum," must originally have been perfectly enchanting: on the reverse, the smaller illumination, entitled "*spēs tass' barbat*"—*Päuze Jaulne*," has infinite merit. But to particularise these smaller objects would be endless: yet I am persuaded you would stop, for more than one moment, to gaze upon the "*Bec doyseau*," and more especially upon the reverse of the leaf containing it, entitled *Que dieu marche*—so beautiful and so brilliant are these flowered ornaments! We come next to the *Crucifixion*, an illumination full nine inches in height; but upon the whole it is a failure; so is the next large illumination of the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*. The *Nativity* has a singular effect: the manger is lighted from Joseph's lantern, which is absolutely in a blaze of gold; but the effect, as a whole, is bad.

The *Declaration of the Birth of Christ* is the next large illumination; but it is a failure considered as a piece of composition and colouring. The shepherds are warming themselves round a fire, of which the colour is sufficiently red. The flowers in the margin opposite, are, almost as usual, deliciously touched. The *Adoration of the Magi* is the next principal illumination; having considerable merit and great effect. The two male heads, one above the other, have a good deal of expression; but the countenance of the Virgin has that of insipidity of character



character by which it was frequently characterised by the artists of this period.

The opposite illumination of the *Pomesde Paradis* is beyond all praise. Such fruit is worthy of the place by which they are called. The *Presentation* is the next ensuing large illumination; but, as usual, when the artist attempts to group, or to give historical expression, he is sure to fail. The preservation of the painting is perfect. Next comes the *Flight into Egypt*; but it is an indifferent performance. On the ninth ensuing leaf, from this last illumination, there is one of the larger fruit and flower pieces of *cherries*, &c. and I suspect that, originally, an historical subject faced it. We have next a fine large illumination of *David choosing one of the Evils*: he is kneeling, while the angel holds three darts above his head. It has great merit; the countenance of David is expressive, but rather too chubby; his flowered robe of gold, upon a blue ground, is admirable. A glorious fruit illumination of "*wood-nuts*" quickly follows; at the bottom of which, in the right corner, are two monkies quarrelling, done to the very life. The marginal flowers which succeed are, if possible, more beautiful than those before; the ears of green wheat, oats, &c.—and yet more, the dandelion—have absolutely nothing to surpass them, either upon the canvas of Van Huysum or De Heem!

The *Raising of Lazarus* is the next large illumination; having, in parts, very considerable effect. The figure and expression of Christ are excellent, but perhaps it is deficient in majesty of expression. A tear is flowing down each cheek—touched in a peculiarly transparent manner. "*Jesus wept*," but I believe not at the *grave* of his departed friend. The figure of Lazarus has considerable merit. An illumination of plums is on the opposite page, of a particularly leaden tint. *Job* and his friends form the subject of the succeeding illumination. Each of the three accompanying figures seem to be touched with heart-felt sorrow; and there is, consequently, no taunting. The opposite fruit-piece, called "*Guer-nadee*," or *Pomegranate*, is, however, much preferable to his historical group. A representation of the *Trinity* next arrests our attention. On the head of the Almighty is a triple tiara; around that of our Saviour is apparently a crown

of thorns. The dove is between them. The back ground is gold. The robes of the figures just described exhibited beautiful touches of gold, but the whole wants effect. The bunches of small black grapes, opposite, are absolutely tantalising to the sight—from the truth and perfection of their finish. It is followed by a fruit-subject of equal beauty. *Joseph, Mary, and the Infant Christ* next ensue; but, though these figures are in a good state of preservation, the effect is poor. A marvellously fine illumination of a *Group of Angels* follows. In the centre of this group stands one, probably St. Michael, completely clad in golden armour, of beautiful workmanship, with a spear in his right hand, and his left hand resting upon a shield. The countenance is most tenderly touched; but, for a person so armed, the expression seems too feminine. Probably this is the finest illumination of large figures in the volume; with the exception of that in which the portrait of Anne of Brittany is introduced. Some deliciously executed green gooseberries face this "*Oraison des Anges*."

There is yet a much finer piece of art in the head of the figure of the "*Bon Ange*," which follows; by no means unworthy even of the pencil of Raphael. The wings are crimson; the vestment is green, a sword is in the right hand, and a sort of casket, in blue, hangs to the left, suspended from the right shoulder. *Gabriel* is the next in succession. The vestment of the saint is lilac, tenderly touched; but the face is comparatively mean. Some delicious "*melons*" cause the eye quickly to wander towards the opposite page. The *Twelve Apostles*, grouped, succeed; St. Peter and St. Paul are in front; but these figures are not equal to their precursors. The *Martyrs*, kneeling, form the ensuing subject of art; they are in much better taste than the preceding. The brown and gold ornament, on the side of a book, is cleverly understood. *S. S. Cosme and Damian* are the next graphic subject, the former with an urinal, the latter with a *pix*, in his hand, in good preservation; the heads are well coloured, especially that of *St. Damian*. *St. Sebastian* succeeds, a very meagre affair. The *Ten Thousand Martyrs* afterwards arrest our shuddering attention. Some of them are spiked, others are upon crosses, with the blood streaming on all sides. The colouring is horribly correct. A most extraordinary performance.



performance. Next comes *St. Peter the Martyr*, his head or skull is half cleft through with a sword, while another, up to the very hilt, is plunged through his heart; no hand directs either instrument: the blood flows copiously from each wound, yet the saint is kneeling, and writing tranquilly upon the ground "*Credo in D—*." Some admirably painted apples, on the opposite page, quickly divert the attention from this distressing subject. Both the Latin and French name of these apples is evidently erased.

Next come the *Confessors*, sufficiently gorgeous, but stiff and tame. The opposite apples are more to my taste. *St. Nicholas*, with the three boys in a basket, is in every respect a more desirable performance. These saints are, generally, from seven to nine inches in height; and the present is of the latter dimensions. He makes, indeed, a very charming illumination; his head, both for colour and drawing, is almost perfect, and in an exceedingly fresh state of preservation. His white gloves, vestment, and deep blue robes, are all excellent of their kind; the three children are also good, upon the whole; they seem to be walking about in water, within the tub. There is an illumination of hops on the opposite page, which are called "*Luppilus-Hobelon*." *St. Lippart and the Dragon* next command our attention; gorgeously coloured, with rather a fine whole length attitude of the saint, but inferior to the preceding illumination of *St. Nicholas*. *St. Anthony of Padua* is the following subject of graphic art. It is strikingly executed; the saint is in a brown vestment, holding a wafer and a cup, a white horse is by his side. We have next *St. Martin* giving his cloak to a beggar; the saint is upon a white horse, in a most beautiful suit of golden armour, with a blue and gold breast plate: his countenance is mild and expressive. *St. Hubert and the Stag* succeed; the saint is a good brown, stout, lusty fellow, his staff and dogs are near him. The figure of *St. Anthony* next claims our attention; but it is rather heavy and of inferior execution. A group of *Virgins*, splendid, but stiff and uninteresting, is the succeeding subject of art. This is a sort of prelude to the female saints, individually detailed, which ensue.

Of those female saints, first comes *Madame Ste. Anne*; a very formal and grave lady. Next *Madame Ste. Ursule*,

very singular. She is kneeling, pierced with an arrow; a crown is on her head, her hands are elevated, about her are females with their heads cut off, and the blood streaming on all sides. A group of soldiers is to the left, a vessel is in the distance, with the virgins suffering martyrdom—the whole evidently a representation of the well-known tale of *St. Ursula*, and the eleven thousand Virgins. *Mary Magdalene* is the next female subject, upon which the eye generally delights to dwell. She has a melancholy expression of countenance, with a *pix* in her hand; the back ground is solemn and impressive. As a contrast, comes *St. Catherine*, superb and beautiful. She is in a fine state of preservation, and is really worth copying: her countenance and attitude unite timidity with elegance. *Madame Ste. Margaret* follows; she is kneeling in the midst of a large coiled serpent; her countenance is tenderly coloured. *Madame Ste. Helene* is gay, but rather stiff. *All Saints*; very superb, but stiff and gaudy: the upper part of this illumination shews what a cruel marginal amputation this lovely volume has undergone. Opposite, is a most brilliant representation of flowers, entitled "*Nasturci Aquatici*."

We have next *Two Angels supporting a Font*; the usual graphic ornament at the commencement of printed volumes of devotion. In the work of art before me, there is a gorgeous but stiff effect. Then follows the *Nursing of the Infant Jesus*; a very indifferent production; Joseph is asleep. We have next Joseph, Mary, Christ, and three female attendants, rather stiff and feeble. *Jesus returning to Nazareth*, after disputing with the Doctors, finely marked in gold, but tame and stiff. The reverse of the opposite leaf displays a most exquisite flower, called "*Fagère bastarde*." The following, and last, large illumination, is *Judas betraying Christ*. It is full of figures, the gold is too spotty, and the effect is missed.

Such is the volume of Hours which once belonged to the celebrated ANNE OF BRITTANY, the wife of Lewis XII. of France, who has justly been called the father of his people.

The recto of the last leaf has the initials L. A. &c. as at the beginning; but they are here shaded in lilac, with a back ground; and in the centre, surrounded by a very tasteful fillet executed



cuted in ultra marine, just beneath a crown is the letter A, singularly designed, within a black cord upon a gold ground. This volume measures very nearly twelve inches by seven inches and five-eighths. The clasps are undoubtedly original.

#### CHARLEMAGNE'S PRAYER BOOK.

"Now that I am in this magical region, my good friend, allow me to inspect the famous PRAYER BOOK OF CHARLEMAGNE?" was my first solicitation to Mons. Barbier. "Gently," said my guide, "you are almost asking to partake of forbidden fruit: but I suppose you must not be disappointed." This was only sharpening the edge of my curiosity—"for wherefore this mystery, good M. Barbier?" "That you may know another time. The book is here, and you shall immediately inspect it," was his reply. Well, it has been inspected, and you shall forthwith be made acquainted with the result of such inspection. First of all, however, I must tell you, that after I had fairly and minutely examined it, it was impossible not to feel persuaded (as I undisguisedly told M. Barbier) that this was, in every respect, perhaps the MOST PRECIOUS VOLUME, of its kind, which France possessed; for it is not only of the time, but it had been the property, of Charlemagne himself. M. Barbier unlocked the recess in which it is religiously preserved; took off the crimson velvet in which it is enveloped, and springing backward only two feet and a half, exclaimed on the presenting it, "Le voilà dans toute sa beauté pristine." I own that I even forgot *Charles the Bald*, and eke his imperial brother *Lotharius*.

The subject-matter of this most precious book is thus arranged:—In the first place, there are five large illuminations, of the entire size of the page, which are much discoloured. The first four represent the *Evangelists*, each sitting upon a cushion not unlike a bolster. The fifth is the figure of our SAVIOUR; the back ground is purple, the pillow-like seat, upon which Christ sits, is scarlet, relieved by white and gold. The upper garment of the figure is dark green, the lower purple, bordered in part with gold; the foot stool is gold; the book in the left hand is red and gold; the arabesque ornaments, in the border, are blue, red, and gold; the hair of our Saviour is intended to be flaxen.

On the reverse of this extraordinary

figure, is an illumination of a temple, of which the top, in the shape of a tent, is supported by eight columns. A variety of birds and beasts decorate the upper part; above we read "IN VIGILIA NATALIS DOMINI." Opposite the text begins, in capital letters; the initials being about three-eighths of an inch, the others about one-eighth. The text is in double columns, upon a purple ground, within an arabesque border of red, purple, yellow, and bluish green. The text is uniformly executed in letters of gold, of which the surface is occasionally rather splendid. This text consists of a series of gospel extracts, for the whole year, amounting to about two hundred and forty-two. These extracts terminate with "ET EGO RESUSCITABO EUM IN NOVISSIMO DIE. AMEN." But I should observe that, before "the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ according to St. Matthew," there is a sort of arabesque ornament, of a bird with flowers, not badly grouped. I do not discover any other particular ornament within the borders.

Next comes a christian calendar, from the Dominical year DCCLXXV to DCCXCVII. On casting the eye down these years, and resting it on that part of DCCCLXXXI you observe, in the columns of the opposite leaf, this very important entry or memorandum, in the undoubted writing of the time:—"In Isto Anno iuit Dominus REX KAROLUS, ad sem Petrom et baptisatus est filius eius PIPPINUS a Domino Apostolico;" from which I think it is evident (as is observed in the account of this precious volume in the *Annales Encyclopédiques*, vol. iii. p. 378) that this very book was commanded to be written chiefly to perpetuate a notice of the baptism by Pope Adrian, of the emperor's son Pippin. There is no appearance whatever of fabrication, in this memorandum. The whole is coeval, and doubtless of the time when it is professed to have been executed. The last two pages are occupied by Latin verses, written in a lower-case, cursive hand; but contemporaneous, and upon a purple ground. From these verses we learn that the Scribe or copyist of this splendid volume, was one GODESCALE, or GODSCHALCUS, a German. The verses are reprinted in the *Décades Philosophiques*.

This MS. was given to the *Abbey of St. Servin*, at Toulouse, by Charlemagne, when his son Lewis was king of



of Aquitaine, of which Toulouse was the capital. It was most religiously preserved in that Abbey in a case of massive silver, richly sculptured, till the year 1793; when the silver was stolen, and the book carried off, with several precious relics of antiquity, by order of the president of the administration, (Le-Sieur S\*\*\*\*) and thrown into a magazine, in which were many other vellum MSS. destined TO BE BURNED! One's blood curdles at the narrative. There it lay, expecting its melancholy fate, till a Monsieur de Puymaurin, then detained as a prisoner in the magazine, happened to throw his eye upon the precious volume, and writing a certain letter about it, to a certain quarter, (which letter is preserved in the fly-leaves, but of which I was denied the transcription, from motives of delicacy,) an order was issued by government for the conveyance of the MS. to the place which it now occupies, and from which place I trust it will never depart; this restoration was effected in May, 1811. I think you must admit, that in every point of view, this MS. ranks among the most interesting and curious, as well as the most ancient, of those in the several libraries of Paris.

#### TRAGEDY OF FAUSTUS.

This dramatic fragment (for the play is incomplete) is preceded by a preface, in which it is attempted to vindicate the author from the imputation of licentiousness and impiety. Faustus is a young, virtuous, and hard-fagging student; but his peccant part, or rather that quality of the mind, upon which it is attempted to work his ruin, is his curiosity. He is anxious after knowledge of truth, connected both with the visible and invisible world, and he has a companion or fellow-student, of the name of WAGNER, much disposed to listen to his opinions, and receive them as oracular. The plot is altogether wild and preternatural. The devil, in the character of *Mephistopheles*, and in the shape of a human being, approaches the throne of the Almighty, and receives permission to tempt and ruin the philosophical Faustus.

He commences his attacks in the shape of a black dog, running round Faustus and Wagner, in giddy and slightly-fiery circles, as they are walking in the fields at eventide. The dog is taken home, kept in the library of Faustus, and during the studies of the latter, swells up to an enormous size,

and betrays his diabolical origin, by assuming the form of a travelling student, which he preserves throughout the whole tragedy. In this form his countenance is always preserved by the artist, *RETSCH*, as a compound of cunning, cruelty, and unrelenting malignity. Faustus, according to the stale joke in witchcraft, makes over his soul to *Mephistopheles*, or the devil, upon condition of the latter putting him in possession of whatsoever he wants. The first attempt made upon the virtue of Faustus is by means of intoxication. He is conducted to a carousing party; and to shew his miracle-working powers *Mephistopheles* commences by boring a hole in the table with a gimblet, and causing wine to spout from the aperture. He thus addresses Faustus as his conjuration proceeds:—

The vine is graced with clusters red,  
The goat with horns that crown his head :  
Wine is a most delicious juice,  
But branches, which the grape produce,  
Seem arid wood. Look nature through  
With keener ken ! your table too  
Shall learn from arid wood to give  
The generous juice. Now, wonder and  
believe !

Well ! draw your corks : see, how it goes !  
[*They draw, and the wine runs into their  
glasses.*]

All delicious stream ! for us it flows !

*Mephistopheles* now conducts the intoxicated youth to the residence of an old witch ; who, in turn, exhibits before him proofs of her powers of incantation, by conjuring up forms of the most horrible and loathsome kind. As a contrast, she conducts Faustus to a mirror, and shews him, in this magic glass, the form of a beautiful young woman (*MARGARET*) sleeping upon a couch, in order to inflame his passions. *Mephistopheles* sits there, in the exquisite enjoyment of seeing how the charm operates upon his pupil !

We may easily guess at the result. Margaret has an old waiting maid, of the name of Martha, who is composed of very supple materials, and is therefore easily bribed by *Mephistopheles*. This demon leaves certain rich ornaments in Margaret's bed-chamber. They are seized upon with avidity and joy by the unsuspecting maiden, who calls her old attendant in order to help her to adorn herself with them.

*Mephistopheles* hastens the catastrophe of his pupil, and of the hitherto innocent Margaret. He calls off the attention of Martha, and brings the lovers together near a shady walk.

Margaret



Margaret plucks a flower, and tears off the leaves to try her fortune with her young gallant.

It is painful to pursue this horrible story; but I will be as brief as possible. The lovers meet, and exchange their mutual vows of inviolable attachment; the unhappy Margaret can live only in the presence of her lover; her home, which was heretofore the scene of all her happiness; her humble occupations, formerly the only means of laudably filling up her time, are become wearisome and almost disgusting.

She becomes the dupe of her own sensibility, and the victim of Mephistopheles. She has now to sustain the goadings of conscience; she throws herself in abject humiliation before a statue of the *Mater Dolorosa*, but receives no comfort; she puts fresh flowers into the basket placed before the statue, but every thing is unavailing. A weight like lead, cold and oppressive, rests as it were upon her heart.

Meanwhile her seducer is about to receive the merited reward of his iniquity; having destroyed innocence, he is ripe for any other act of villainy. The brother of Margaret falls, in an encounter with swords, by the hand of her lover. Of course a price is now set upon the head of Faustus, and Mephistopheles is his only friend to snatch him from the officers of justice. He takes him, therefore, through wilds, fastnesses, and forests; shews him flitting shadows, unseemly sights, promiscuous and profligate debaucheries; skeletons suspended from the gallows, and others in the act of being decapitated; but this does not pass without mutual bickerings and upbraidings on the part of Faustus and his tutor. Meanwhile Margaret goes mad, is placed in a dungeon on straw, but is promised relief by her lover. At the very moment he comes to extricate her, Mephistopheles seizes upon him as his own victim. His period of servitude has expired, and his spirit is claimed as an inhabitant of Hell.

This is a very rapid, and therefore probably imperfect, summary of the contents of the TRAGEDY of FAUSTUS, which Retsch has illustrated with a series of incomparable drawings in outline. These latter are more to my taste than the performance of Goethe; for the whole composition is but a fragment, terminating abruptly, and seems to be written for no other earthly purpose but that of shewing the capriciousness of

an unregulated imagination, and the power of softening down the grossness of vice, by the aid of magic and conjuration.

#### SCHÖNBRUNN AND THE YOUNG NAPOLEON.

About three English miles from the Great Belvedere, or rather about the same number of miles from Vienna, to the right, as you approach the capital, is the famous palace of SCHÖNBRUNN. This is a sort of summer residence of the emperor, and it is here that his daughter, the ex-empress of France, and the young Buonaparte usually reside. The latter never goes into Italy, when his mother, as Duchess of Parma, pays her annual visit to her principality. At this moment her son is at Baden, with the court. It was in the Schönbrunn Palace that his father, on the conquest of Vienna, used to take up his abode, rarely venturing into the city. He was surely safe enough here, as every chamber and even court-yard was filled by the *élite* of his guard, whether as officers or soldiers. It is a most magnificent pile of building, a truly imperial residence; but neither the furniture nor the objects of art, whether connected with sculpture or painting, are deserving of any thing in the shape of a *catalogue raisonné*. I saw the chamber where young Buonaparte frequently passes the day, and brandished his flag-staff, and beat upon his drum. He is a soldier, (as they tell me) every inch of him, and rides out, through the streets of Vienna, in a carriage of state drawn by four or six horses, receiving the *homages* of the passing multitude. They say that he is handsome and very interesting, and that the emperor (from his great fondness for his daughter) is exceedingly attached to him. The other day, on dining at one of the principal restaurateurs, there chanced to sit near us, at an adjoining table, a well-looking and well-dressed gentleman, of an Italian cast of countenance. By accident he overheard some discourse at our own table, respecting the little Buonaparte. He seemed delighted to mingle in the conversation, and soon gave us to understand that he was one of his masters, and that his pupil was equally well versed in the German, Italian, and French languages; that his manners won the hearts of all; but that love of a military life seemed to be the predominant passion of his mind. He would march, countermarch, halt, give the word



word of command, and sometimes flourish his sword or fire his gun, with a sort of joyful dexterity. "But," added he, "he has a precocity of talent which does not promise a life long enough even to reach maturity."

MEMOIRS  
OF  
*The Life*  
OF THE  
RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.  
BY  
GEORGE TOMLINE, D.D. F.R.S.  
*Lord Bishop of Winchester.*  
3 vols, 8vo. p. ice £1. 16s.

[The measures of the second William Pitt, as the minister of George the Third, will necessarily occupy a large space in the annals of this country; and furnish ample materials for the pens of future historians. The present work, however, will be regarded by posterity rather as a grateful monument raised by the Right Reverend Author in memory of the patron to whom he owes a mitre, than be consulted as records of impartial history. An uninterrupted and most confidential course of friendship with Mr. Pitt during the whole of his life, together with the subsequent possession of his papers as an executor, render the bishop unquestionably the best qualified of all his cotemporaries to become the biographer of that friend; and we look forward with interest, for the appearance of the fourth volume, (not yet published,) which will be allotted to the private life of this celebrated minister. In the meantime we have selected from the three published volumes, the following extracts, which with every deduction that must be made for the partiality of the author, cannot fail to gratify our readers, from the nature of the objects to which they relate.]

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS.

WILLIAM PITT, second son of William first EARL of CHATHAM, and of Lady Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq. and Countess Temple, was born at Hayes in Kent, on the 28th of May, 1759. Of his father it is unnecessary for me to speak; and of his mother I shall only observe, that she was highly distinguished by strength of understanding, superior attainments, and most accomplished manners. Lord and Lady Chatham had two other sons, the present Earl of Chatham,

and Mr. James Pitt; and also two daughters, the elder of whom, Lady Hester, was married in 1774 to Lord Viscount Mahon; and the younger, Lady Harriet, in 1785, to the Honourable Edward James Eliot, eldest son of Lord Eliot.

Mr. Pitt, when about six years old, was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Edward Wilson, afterwards prebendary of Gloucester, and canon of Windsor, who attended him at Lord Chatham's house; and this mode of education was continued eight years, during half at least of which period, his health was so indifferent, as to render him unable to apply to any serious study. But notwithstanding this loss of time, the progress he made in learning was such, that in the year 1773, his father, designing the law to be his profession, determined to send him for the completion of his education, to Pembroke-hall, Cambridge. He was admitted in the spring of that year, and went to reside in the beginning of the following October. On account of the private manner in which he had been hitherto educated, his tender age, and the extreme delicacy of his constitution, it was thought right that Mr. Wilson should live with him for a few weeks in the same college apartment, without however having any concern in the direction of his studies. Lord Chatham wrote a letter to the master of the college, in which he expressed a desire that each of the two public tutors, who were then Mr. Turner\* and myself, would devote an hour in every day to his son. This plan was accordingly adopted; but after Mr. Pitt's first three visits to Cambridge, he was entirely under my care and tuition.

Although Mr. Pitt was little more than fourteen years of age when he went to reside at the University, and had laboured under the disadvantage of frequent ill-health, the knowledge which he then possessed, was very considerable; and in particular, his proficiency in the learned languages, was probably greater than ever was acquired by any other person in such early youth. In Latin authors he seldom met with difficulty; and it was no uncommon thing for him to read into English, six or seven pages of Thucydides,† which

\* Now master of Pembroke-hall, and Dean of Norwich.

† It was by Lord Chatham's particular desire, that Thucydides was the first Greek book



he had not previously seen, without more than two or three mistakes, and sometimes without even one. He had such an exactness in discriminating the sense of words, and so peculiar a penetration in seizing at once the meaning of a writer, that, as was justly observed by Mr. Wilson, he never seemed to learn, but only to recollect. Whenever he did err in rendering a sentence, it was owing to the want of a correct knowledge of grammar, without which no language can be perfectly understood. This defect, too common in a private education, it was my immediate endeavour to supply; and he was not only soon master of all the ordinary rules of grammar, but taking great pleasure in the philological disquisitions of critics and commentators, he became deeply versed in the niceties of construction and peculiarities of idiom, both in the Latin and Greek languages. He had also read the first six books of Euclid's Elements, Plane Trigonometry, the elementary parts of Algebra, and the two quarto volumes of Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, a work in some degree of repute while Mr. Wilson was a student at Cambridge, but afterwards laid aside.

Nor was it in the learning only, that Mr. Pitt was so much superior to persons of his age. Though a boy in years and appearance, his manners were formed, and his behaviour manly. He mixed in conversation with unaffected vivacity; and delivered his sentiments with perfect ease, equally free from shyness and flippancy, and always with strict attention to propriety and decorum. Lord Chatham, who could not but be aware of the powers of his son's mind and understanding, had encouraged him to talk without reserve upon every subject, which frequently afforded opportunity for conveying useful information and just notions of persons and things. When his lordship's health would permit, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instructions of some sort to his children, and seldom without reading a chapter of the Bible with them.\* He must indeed be con-

book which Mr. Pitt read after he came to college. The only other wish ever expressed by his lordship, relative to Mr. Pitt's studies, was, that I would read Polybius with him.

\* I had frequent opportunities of observing Mr. Pitt's accurate knowledge of the Bible; and I may, I trust, be allowed to mention the following anecdote: In the

sidered as having contributed largely to that fund of knowledge, and to those other advantages, with which Mr. Pitt entered upon his academical life.

The effects of a very serious illness, with which Mr. Pitt was attacked soon after he went to the University in 1773, occasioned him to reside but little at Cambridge in the first three years. This illness, which confined him nearly two months, and at last reduced him to so weak a state, that, after he was convalescent, he was four days travelling to London, seems to have been a crisis in his constitution. By great attention to diet, to exercise and to early hours, he gradually gained strength, without any relapse, or material check; and his health became progressively confirmed. At the age of eighteen he was a healthy man, and he continued so for many years. The preservation of Mr. Pitt's life, in its early part, may be considered as owing, under Providence, to his own care and the affectionate watchfulness of his friends; and the premature decline of his health, long before he reached the ordinary age of man, may as justly be ascribed to the anxiety and fatigue of unremitted attention to the duties of his public station.

It was originally intended, that Mr. Pitt should take the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the regular way, and be candidate for academical honors; but his inability to keep the necessary terms, in consequence of the illness which has been noticed, caused this intention to be abandoned: and in the spring of 1776, he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, to which his birth gave him a right, and which is usually conferred upon young men of a certain rank, after about two years residence in the University, without any public examination, or the performance of any public exercise, and of course without the power of giving public proof of their talents or attainments.

While Mr. Pitt was under-graduate,

year 1797, I was reading with him, in manuscript, my Exposition of the First of the Thirty-nine Articles, which I afterwards published in the Elements of Christian Theology. There were several quotations from Scripture, all of which he remembered and made no observation upon them. At last, we came to a quotation, at which he stopped, and said, "I do not recollect that passage in the Bible, and it does not sound like Scripture." It was a quotation from Apocrypha, which he had not read.



he never omitted attending chapel morning and evening, or dining in the public hall, except when prevented by indisposition. Nor did he pass a single evening out of the college walls. Indeed, most of his time was spent with me; and exclusively of the satisfaction I had in superintending the education of a young man of his uncommon abilities and thirst for improvement, his sweetness of temper and vivacity of disposition, endeared him to me in a degree, which I should in vain attempt to express.

Towards the latter end of the year 1776, Mr. Pitt began to mix with other young men of his own age and station in life, then resident at Cambridge; and no one was ever more admired and beloved by his acquaintance and friends. He was always the most lively person in company, abounding in playful wit and quick repartee; but never known to excite pain, or to give just ground of offence. Even those, who, from difference in political sentiment, or from any other cause, were not disposed to do him more than justice, could not but allow, that as a companion he was unrivalled. Though his society was universally sought, and from the age of seventeen, or eighteen he constantly passed his evenings in company, he steadily avoided every species of irregularity; and he continued to pursue his studies with ardent zeal and unremitting diligence, during his whole residence in the University, which was protracted to the unusual length of nearly seven years, but with considerable intervals of absence. In the course of this time, I never knew him spend an idle day, nor did he ever fail to attend me at the appointed hour. At this early period there was the same firmness of principle, and rectitude of conduct, which marked his character in the more advanced stages of life.

#### LETTERS OF THE FIRST LORD CHATHAM.

In May, 1778, Mr. Pitt lost his great and excellent father, at a period when his advice and assistance would have been of the highest importance to him. I am happy to have it in my power to insert the following letters, which strongly mark the affectionate heart and amiable character of one of the ablest and most disinterested statesmen the world ever produced; and at the same time shew the opinion he entertained, and the expectations he had formed, of the subject of these Memoirs.

MONTHLY MAG. No. 356.

The first of these letters was written by Lord Chatham to Mr. Pitt, upon his going to the University in 1773.

Burton Pynsent, Oct. 9th, 1773.

Thursday's post brought us no letter from the dear traveller: we trust this day will prove more satisfactory; it is the happy day that gave us your brother, and will not be less in favour with all here, if it should give us about four o'clock, an epistle from my dear William. By that hour, I reckon, we shall be warm in our cups, and shall not fail to pour forth, with renewed joy, grateful libations over the much-wished tidings of your prosperous progress towards your destination. We compute, that yesterday brought you to the venerable aspect of *alma mater*; and that you are invested to-day with the  *toga virilis*. Your race of *manly* virtue and *useful* knowledge is now begun, and may the favour of heaven smile upon the noble career!

Little — was really disappointed at not being in time to see you, a good mark for my young vivid friend. He is just as much compounded of the elements of *air* and *fire* as he was. A due proportion of terrestrial solidity will, I trust, come, and make him perfect. How happy, my loved boy, is it, that your mamma and I can tell ourselves, there is at Cambridge *one*, without a beard, “and all the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up, and say, This is a man.” I now take leave for to-day, not meaning this for what James calls a *regular* letter, but a flying thought, that wings itself towards my absent William. Horses are ready, and all is birth-day.

Bradshaw has shone this auspicious morning, in a very fine speech of congratulation, but I foresee, “his sun sets weeping in the lowly west;” that is, a fatal bowl of punch will, before night, quench this luminary of oratory. Adieu again, and again, sweet boy; and if you acquire health and strength every time I wish them to you, you will be a second Sampson, and, what is more, will, I am sure, keep your hair.

Every good wish attends your kind fellow-traveller and *chumm*, nor will he be forgot in our flowery bowl to-day.

To this interesting letter Lady Chatham added the following postscript:—

If more could be said expressive of feelings, my dearest dear boy, I would add a letter to this epistle, but as it is composed, I will only sign to its expressive contents,

Your fond and loving Mother,

HESTER CHATHAM.

The following letter was written by Lord Chatham to Mr. Pitt, when he was recovering from the illness which has been mentioned:—

4 I

Burton



Burton Pynsent, Oct. 30th, 1773.

With what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to my loved William, since Mr. Wilson's comfortable letter of Monday. I do not mean to address you as a sick man; I trust in heaven, that *convalescent* is the only title I am to give you in the ailing tribe, and that you are now enjoying the happy advantage of Dr. Glynn's\* acquaintance, as one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo, in his poetic, not his medical, attribute. But, though I indulge with inexpressible delight the thought of your returning health, I cannot help being a little in pain, lest you should make *more haste than good speed* to be well. Your mamma has been before me in suggesting that most useful proverb, *reculer pour mieux sauter*, useful to all, but to the ardent, necessary. You may indeed, my sweet boy, better than any one, practise this sage dictum, without any risque of being *thrown out* (as little James would say) in the *chace of learning*. All you want at present, is *quiet*, with this, if your ardor *apertu* can be *kept in*, till you are stronger, you will make *noise* enough. How happy the task, my noble amiable boy, to caution you *only against pursuing too much*, all those liberal and praiseworthy things, to which less happy natures are perpetually to be spurred and driven; I will not tease you with too long a lecture in favour of *inaction*, and a competent *stupidity*, your two best *tutors* and *companions* at present. You have time to spare; consider there is but the *Encyclopaedia*; and when you have mastered all that, what will remain? you will want, like Alexander, another world to conquer. Your mamma joins me in every word; and we know how much your affectionate mind can sacrifice to our earnest and tender wishes. Brothers and sisters are well, all feel about you, think and talk of you, as they ought. My affectionate remembrances go in great abundance to Mr. Wilson. *Vire, vale*, is the unceasing prayer of your truly loving father,

CHATHAM.

The above letter indicates great anxiety, beautifully expressed, lest Mr. Pitt should too soon resume his studies; and seems to shew, that on former occasions of illness, Lord and Lady Chatham had been under the necessity of restraining him. He recovered so slowly and so imperfectly before he left Cambridge, that he was unable to read

\* This eminent physician and excellent scholar became warmly attached to Mr. Pitt, and was a great admirer of his talents and character. He frequently read with him select passages from classical writers, which he thought particularly deserving his notice.

any book which required much attention; and Lord Chatham did not allow him to return to the University till the beginning of July, soon after which he wrote him the following letter, which proves the continuance of the same solicitude:—

Hayes, Sunday, July 17th, 1774.

Need I tell my dear William that his letter received this morning, diffused general joy here? To know that he is well and happy, and to be happy ourselves, is one and the same thing. I am glad that Chambers, Hall, and tufted Robe, continue to please; and make no doubt, that all the *nine*, in their several departments of charming, will sue for your love with all their powers of enchantment. I know too well the danger of a *new amour* or of a *reviving passion*, not to have some fears for your discretion. Give any of these alluring ladies the meeting by *day-light* and *in their turns*; not becoming the *slave* of any one of them; nor be drawn into late hours by the temptation of their sweet converse. I rejoice that college is not yet evacuated of its learned garrison; and I hope the governor of this fortress of science, the master, or his admirable aides-de-camps, the tutors, will not soon repair to their respective excursions. Dr. Brown, to whom I desire to present my best compliments, is very obliging in accommodating you with a stable. I hope with this aid Mr. Wilson's computation may not be out above one half, to bring it at all near the mark. I conclude, a horse's allowance at Cambridge is upon the scale of a sizar's commons. However it prove, I am glad to think you and he will find more convenience for riding at every spare hour than offers. Stucky will carry Mr. Wilson safely, and I trust not unpleasantly. The brothers of the turf may hold the solid contents of his shoulders and forehead somewhat cheap; but by Dan's leave, he is no uncreditable *clerical* steed; no news yet from Pitt; James is here, the flower of schoolboys.

Your loving father,

CHATHAM.

Hayes, Spt. 2, 1774.

I write, my dearest William, the post just going out, only to thank you for your most welcome letter, and for the affectionate anxiety you express for my situation, left behind in the hospital when our flying camp moved to Stowe. Gout has for the present subsided, and seems to intend deferring his favours till winter, if autumn will do its duty, and bless us with a course of steady weather; those days which Madame de Savigne so beautifully points, *des jours fités d'or et de soye*.

I have the pleasure to tell you, your mother and sisters returned perfectly well from Bucks., warm in praises of magnificent and



and princely Stowe, and full of due sentiments of the agreeable and kind reception they found there. No less than two dances in the short time they passed there. One escape from a wasp's nest, which proved only an adventure to talk of, by the incomparable skill and presence of mind of Mr. Cotton. Driving our girls in his carriage with four very fine horses, and no postilion, they fell into an *ambuscade* of wasps, more fierce than *Pandours*, who beset these coursers of spirit not inferior to *Xanthus* and *Podarges*, and stung them to madness; when, disdaining the master's hand, he turned them short into an edge, threw some of them, as he meant to do; and leaping down, seized the bridles of the leaders, which afforded time for your sisters to get out safe and sound, their honour, in point of courage, intact, as well as their bones; for they are celebrated not a little on their composure in this alarming situation. I rejoice that your time passes to your mind, in the evacuated seat of the muses. However, knowing that those heavenly ladies (unlike the London fair) delight most, and spread their choicest charms and treasures, in sweet retired solitude, I we'n't wonder that their true votary is happy to be alone with them. Mr. Pretymen\* will by no means spoil company, and I wish you joy of his return. How many commons have you lost of late? Whose fences have you broken? and in what lord of the manor's pound have any *strays of science* been found, since the famous adventure of catching the horses with such admirable address and alacrity? I beg my affectionate compliments to Mr. Wilson, and hope you will both be aware of an inclosed country for the future. Little James is still with us, doing penance for the *high living*, so well described to you in Mrs. Pam's excellent epistle. All loves follow my sweetest boy in more abundance than I have time or ability to express.

I desire my best compliments to the kind and obliging master, who loves Cicero and you.

My readers will be sorry to learn that the following is the last letter of Lord Chatham, which I am able to submit to their perusal; it was written only seven or eight months before his death.

Hayes, Sept. 22, 1777.

How can I employ my reviving pen so well as by addressing a few lines to the *hope and comfort* of my life, my dear William? You will have pleasure to see, under my own hand, that I mend every day, and that I am all but well. I have been this morning to Camden-place, and sus-

tained most manfully a visit, and all the idle talk thereof, for about an hour by Mr. Norman's clock, and returned home, untired, to dinner, where I eat like a farmer. Lord Mahon has confounded, not convinced, the incorrigible *soi-disant* Dr. Wilson. Dr. Franklin's lightning, rebel as he is, stands proved the more innocent; and Wilson's nob's must yield to the painted conductors. On Friday, Lord Mahon's indefatigable spirit is to exhibit another incendium to lord mayor, foreign ministers, and all lovers of philosophy and the good of society; and means to illuminate the horizon with a little bonfire of twelve hundred faggots and a double edifice. Had our dear friend been born sooner, Nero and the second Charles could never have amused themselves by reducing to ashes the two noblest cities in the world. My hand begins to demand repose, so with my best compliments to Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, not forgetting the Civilians, and the Law of Nations tribe, adieu, my dearest William. Your ever most affectionate father,

CHATHAM.

#### HIS FIRST SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

On the 26th of February, a circumstance of a very remarkable nature occasioned Mr. Pitt to make his first speech in the House of Commons. The subject of debate was, Mr. Burke's bill for economical reform in the civil list. Lord Nugent was speaking against the bill; and Mr. Byng, member for Middlesex, knowing Mr. Pitt's sentiments upon the measure, asked him to reply to his lordship. Mr. Pitt gave a doubtful answer; but in the course of Lord Nugent's speech, he determined not to reply to him. Mr. Byng, however, understood that Mr. Pitt intended to speak after Lord Nugent; and the moment his Lordship sat down, Mr. Byng and several of his friends, to whom he had communicated Mr. Pitt's supposed intention, called out, in the manner usual in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt's name as being about to speak. This probably prevented any other person from rising; and Mr. Pitt finding himself thus called upon, and observing that the house waited to hear him, thought it necessary to rise. Though really not intending to speak, he was from the beginning collected and unembarrassed; he urged strongly in favour of the bill, and noticed all the objections which had been urged by the noble lord, who immediately preceded him in the debate, in a manner which greatly astonished all who heard him. Never were higher expectations formed of any person upon his first

\* The author of these Memoirs, who in 1803 changed his name from Pretymen to Tomline.



first coming into parliament, and never were expectations more completely answered. They were indeed much more than answered; such were the fluency and accuracy of language, such the perspicuity of arrangement, and such the closeness of reasoning, and manly and dignified elocution,—generally, even in a much less degree, the fruits of long habit and experience—that it could scarcely be believed to be the first speech of a young man not yet two-and-twenty.

On the following day, Mr. Pitt, knowing my anxiety upon every subject which related to him, with his accustomed kindness, wrote to me at Cambridge, to inform me, that “he had heard his own voice in the House of Commons;” and modestly expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which his first attempt at parliamentary speaking had been received. Before Mr. Pitt had a seat in parliament, he had been a constant attendant in the gallery of the House of Commons, and near the throne in the House of Lords, upon every important debate; and whenever he heard a speech of any merit on the side opposite to his own opinions, he accustomed himself to consider as it proceeded, in what manner it might be answered; and when the speaker accorded with his own sentiments, he then observed his mode of arranging and enforcing his ideas, and considered whether any improvement could have been made, or whether any argument had been omitted. To this habit, and to the practice already mentioned of reading Greek and Latin into English, joined to his wonderful natural endowments, may be attributed his talent for reply, and that command of language, for which he was from the first so highly distinguished. At whatever length he spoke, he avoided repetition; and it was early and justly observed of him, that “he never failed to put the best word in the best place.”

#### THE CHAMPION OF REFORM.

During the administration of Lord North, many of his principal opponents had complained that the people of England were very imperfectly represented in the House of Commons, and associations were formed in different parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of obtaining what was called a reform of parliament.\* It was urged, that the counties sent a very inadequate number of mem-

bers, and that many very small boroughs had each two representatives, in most cases chosen through the influence of some peer or person of large property, or by means corrupt and disgraceful, while some of the most populous and important towns had no representative. All this was said to be a gross departure from the original principles of the constitution, and as calling aloud for correction. The present was thought a favourable time for bringing this question before the legislature, and a general meeting of the friends of parliamentary reform was held at the house of the Duke of Richmond in London, at which it was determined, that a motion upon the subject should be immediately submitted to the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt was fixed upon as the fittest person to make this motion; and the selection of him for the conduct of a business, which had excited an eager anxiety both in and out of parliament, and which from its delicacy and importance required no ordinary qualification, is another proof of the high opinion which was already entertained of his judgment and abilities.

On the 7th of May, after the call of the house had taken place, (which was appointed for that day in order to secure a full attendance,) Mr. Pitt brought forward this interesting question, in a speech of considerable length. Having apologized for undertaking a task which required so much greater ability and experience than he possessed, he proceeded to observe, that the inadequate representation of the people in parliament had long engaged the attention of the public, and that men the most enlightened had maintained the necessity of a calm revision of the principles of the constitution, and of a moderate and substantial reform of those defects, which had gradually and imperceptibly stolen in to deface, and now at last threatened to destroy, the most beautiful fabric of government in the world. He particularly mentioned his father, who was not apt to indulge vague and chimerical speculations inconsistent with practice and expediency, as a decided friend to parliamentary reform; and upon these authorities he entreated gentlemen not to be deterred from attempting to remove the acknowledged abuses of the constitution by a fear of injuring what they so much and so deservedly loved and revered; they ought rather to be anxious to apply a timely remedy, lest this nation, with the best capacities

\* These associations began in 1779.



capacities for grandeur and happiness of any on the face of the earth, should be confounded with the mass of those whose liberties were subverted and lost. He spoke with great severity of the corrupt influence which caused a perseverance in the American war, contrary to the sense of the people; and, after commending in terms equally strong, the honourable and patriotic manner in which the king's government was now conducted, he called upon the house to seize the favourable opportunity of restoring the purity of election. He contended that the present state of the House of Commons was totally different from its original construction; and that, as there ceased to be the connection designed by our ancestors between the representatives and their constituents, to correct that abuse would be, not an innovation, but a recovery of the constitution. He did not at that time mean to discuss what would be the best species of reform, but only to propose the appointment of a committee for the purpose of investigating the subject, and reporting their opinion of the plan which ought to be adopted, and of the most proper method of carrying it into execution. He stated some facts and circumstances to prove that members were chosen by boroughs, which had no one quality of representation, no population, no trade, no share in the general interests of the country, no stake to entitle them to that distinction, but were either under the command of the treasury, or of some great and powerful individual; or else the electors sold their votes to such persons as would purchase them at the highest price; it was well known, he said, that by means of such boroughs the nabob of Arcot had seven or eight members in the House of Commons, which led him to argue upon the impropriety and danger of a foreign influence being allowed to creep into our national councils. The corruption of which he complained was the natural effect of the wide limits of our empire, and of the broad and great scale upon which its operations were conducted; "it had grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength;" but, unhappily, it had not decayed with our decay, nor diminished with our decrease; it still existed in its full force, and had supported a late administration against all the consequences of a mischievous system and a dismembered empire. To prevent the recurrence

and extension of this evil, he was anxious to establish a more solid and equal representation, by reviving the true constitutional connexion between parliament and the people; and therefore he moved, "That a committee be appointed to examine into the present state of the representation of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament, to report the same to the house, and likewise what steps in their opinion it may be proper for parliament to take concerning the same."

Mr. Sawbridge, in seconding the motion, spoke of Mr. Pitt's speech, as displaying "that great and astonishing ability, for which he was so justly distinguished."\* The motion, however, although supported by Mr. Fox and several other persons in office, was lost by a majority of 20, the numbers being 161 and 141.

#### ATTEMPTS TO FORM A COALITION OF THE PITT AND FOX PARTIES.

The unanimous adoption of Mr. Grosvenor's motion by the House of Commons on the 2d of February, was considered as an encouragement to the gentlemen who met at the St. Alban's Tavern, to renew their endeavours to accomplish an union of parties. Several meetings were held, and some of the members, as a committee, had interviews with Mr. Pitt, and with Mr. Fox and the Duke of Portland, on the subject. But the same difficulty as before occurred, namely, that Mr. Pitt refused to resign, for the purpose of negotiating; and the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox refused to negotiate till Mr. Pitt

\* Mr. Fox in addressing the electors of Westminster on the 17th of July in this year, said "A motion for parliamentary reform was made in the House of Commons, by a young man of the most signal abilities, and whose public conduct had so entirely concurred with your own sentiments and wishes, that you expressed a desire for him to become one of your representatives in parliament. The honourable author of this motion (I mean Mr. William Pitt) supported it in the house with all that ability which characterizes him, and with all that firmness, integrity, and dignity, which I believe to be no less in the number of his excellencies." It is to be observed, that this declaration was made after Mr. Fox had resigned the seals as secretary of state, and after Mr. Pitt was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; that is, after the little connexion, which had subsisted between Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt had ceased; and on that account it may be considered as more honourable to both.

had



had resigned. On the 9th of February, the gentlemen appear to have been convinced that from their inability to surmount this difficulty, their exertions at present must be useless, and they passed a resolution to that effect. They agreed, however, to meet at least once a week, during the session of parliament, for the purpose of availing themselves of any opportunity which might present itself of promoting the great object which they deemed "absolutely necessary at that particular juncture." What passed in the House of Commons, on the 11th of this month, in the irregular debate which took place upon Mr. Eden's motion, again revived the hopes of these gentlemen; and at a meeting two days afterwards, they unanimously passed the two following resolutions:—"To represent to the Right Honourable William Pitt, and the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, the satisfaction we have received from the manly, candid, and explicit avowal they have respectively made of their public views; and to intimate to them, that, in consequence of this mutual explanation, we entertain a most assured hope, that such an administration as the House of Commons has unanimously declared to be requisite, may be obtained by an union consistent with principle and honour;" and, "That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Honourable Frederick Lord North, for the public and voluntary declaration he has made, of his sincere and earnest desire to promote, as far as depends on him, a cordial and permanent union."

In consequence of the eagerness for an union of parties, repeatedly expressed by these gentlemen, and also by many others in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt, desirous that no backwardness upon the subject should be imputed to him, thought it right, as the most probable means of accomplishing the wishes of so many respectable men, to advise the King to propose an interview between the Duke of Portland and himself (Mr. Pitt) for the purpose of endeavouring to form an administration including themselves and their respective friends. This suggestion was received by his Majesty with considerable surprise and agitation; and the next morning he wrote to Mr. Pitt the following letter, dated Feb. 15th, 1784.

*Queen's House, 30 m. past 10 A. M.*

Mr. Pitt is so well apprised of the mortification I feel at any possibility of ever

again seeing the heads of opposition in public employments, and more particularly Mr. Fox, whose conduct has not been more marked against my station in the empire, than against my person, that he must attribute my want of perspicuity in my conversation last night to that foundation; yet I should imagine it must be an ease to his mind, in conferring with the other confidential ministers this morning, to have on paper my sentiments, which are the result of unremitted consideration, since he left me last night; and which he has my consent to communicate, if he judges it right, to the above respectable persons.

My present situation is perhaps the most singular that ever occurred, either in the annals of this or any other country; for the House of Lords, by a not less majority than two to one, have declared in my favour: and my subjects at large, in a much more considerable proportion, are not less decided; to combat which, the opposition have only a majority of twenty, or at most of thirty, in the House of Commons, who, I am sorry to add, seem as yet willing to prevent the public supplies. Though I certainly have never much valued popularity, yet I do not think it is to be despised when arising from a rectitude of conduct, and when it is to be retained by following the same respectable path, which conviction makes me esteem that of duty, as calculated to prevent one branch of the legislature from annihilating the other two, and seizing also the executive power, to which she has no claim.

I confess I have not yet seen the smallest appearance of sincerity in the leaders of opposition, to come into the only mode by which I could tolerate them in my service, their giving up the idea of having the administration in their hands, and coming in as a respectable part of one on a broad basis; and therefore I, with a jealous eye, look on any words dropped by them, either in parliament, or to the gentlemen of St. Alban's tavern, as meant only to gain those gentlemen, or, if carrying farther views, to draw Mr. Pitt by a negotiation, into some difficulty.

Should the ministers, after discussing this, still think it advisable that an attempt should be made to try, whether an administration can be formed on a real, not a nominal, wide basis, and that Mr. Pitt, having repeatedly, and as fruitlessly, found it impossible to get even an interview on what opposition pretends to admit is a necessary measure, I will, though reluctantly, go personally so far as to authorise a message to be carried in my name to the Duke of Portland, expressing a desire that he and Mr. Pitt may meet to confer on the means of forming an administration on a wide basis, as the only means of entirely healing the divisions which stop the



the business of the nation. The only person I can think, from his office, as well as personal character, proper to be sent by me, is Lord Sydney; but should the Duke of Portland, when required by me, refuse to meet Mr. Pitt, more especially upon the strange plea he has as yet held forth, I must here declare, that I shall not deem it right for me ever to address myself again to him.

The message must be drawn on paper, as must every thing in such a negociation, as far as my name is concerned; and I trust, when I next see Mr. Pitt, if under the present circumstances, the other ministers shall agree with him in thinking such a proposition advisable, that he will bring a sketch of such a message for my inspection.

GEORGE. R.

In consequence of this permission from the King, which was evidently given with great reluctance, Lord Sydney, on the same day, wrote to the Duke of Portland, signifying "his Majesty's earnest desire, that his Grace should have a personal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms."

The Duke of Portland considered this message as tantamount to a virtual resignation on the part of ministers, and therefore as a removal of the obstacle which had hitherto prevented an interview between himself and Mr. Pitt. But no sooner was this difficulty removed, than another was started by the Duke of Portland. The royal message spoke of "forming an administration on fair and equal terms;" his Grace did not object to the word "fair," it was a general term, and he and Mr. Pitt, in framing the arrangements, might discuss what they considered to be fair; but the word "equal" was more specific and limited; and as a necessary preliminary, he required Mr. Pitt to inform him what he understood by the word "equal." Mr. Pitt said, he thought the meaning of that word would be best explained at a personal conference. The Duke replied, that he could not meet Mr. Pitt till the word was explained. Mr. Pitt declined explaining it; and thus the negociation was finally broken off. Mr. Powys and Mr. Marsham were the persons, through whom these communications, relative to the meaning of the word "equal," passed; and the other gentlemen of the St. Alban's Tavern, finding from their statement, that recent endeavours to accomplish an union of parties were as

fruitless as former ones; that the "earnest desire" of the King had no better effect than the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons; and utterly despairing of success from any further application, after various consultations, at last came to this concluding resolution;—"This meeting having heard with infinite concern, that an interview between the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt is prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, are unanimously of opinion, that it would be no dishonourable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare." No notice whatever was taken of this resolution, and the meetings were discontinued.

Without enquiring whether this association,—which, if it had succeeded in its object, would, in reality, have prescribed to the King, what persons his Majesty ought to take into his councils,—was strictly reconcileable to the principles of our constitution; we may pronounce, that the intention, with which it was formed, was truly laudable and patriotic. It originated in a sincere desire, upon public grounds, to see the great abilities of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, united in the service of their country; and to accomplish that purpose every exertion was made. But, perhaps, it indicated no correct knowledge of human nature, to expect that two such men, circumstanced as they were, would co-operate cordially and permanently. To compel persons to act together with the same common views, and to concur in promoting the same common end, especially if the business be complicated and arduous, is always but a hopeless undertaking; and in the present case, those who were most acquainted with the characters of the individuals, and best qualified to form a right judgment of the probable result, looked upon the attempt from the first, as idle and unpromising: the little progress which was made, justified that opinion. The negociation was occasionally used as a pretence for deferring the proceedings in the House of Commons; but at no one moment was there reason to believe that it would be brought to a successful termination. Not even the preliminaries could be adjusted. The men who were to act with harmony and mutual confidence, as members of the same administration at the very outset of the treaty, betrayed symptoms of jealousy, suspicion and distrust



distrust. Those who, by candid and friendly communication, were to settle the contending claims of the different candidates for office, could not be prevailed upon even to meet in the same room, though commanded by his Majesty, to have a personal conference, and called upon to unite by the unanimous vote of the House of Commons; those who were to agree upon points of the utmost nicety and importance, upon the general principles of government, and all the intricate detail of foreign and domestic policy, could not rely upon each other's interpretation of one of the commonest words in the language.

ROYAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MINISTERIAL PLAN OF A REFORM IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Pitt did not forget his engagement to bring before the house, in the present session, the business of parliamentary reform. This was indeed a favourite object with him, to which he devoted much time and thought; and he sought every opportunity of explaining in private his sentiments and views respecting it, to those members who had hitherto opposed every motion upon this subject. It is natural to suppose, that his present official situation would give great weight to his arguments; and that the persons who were in general supporters of his administration, would feel a desire to concur with him upon a question, in which his opinion was so decided, and his wishes so strong. He prevailed with some, but the objections of others he was unable to overcome.

He thought it his duty, also, to communicate his plan to the King, whose private sentiments he knew to be unfriendly to any change in the construction of the House of Commons; and he received the following answer from his Majesty, dated March 20.

I have received Mr. Pitt's paper containing the heads of his plan, for a parliamentary reform, which I look on as a mark of attention. I should have delayed acknowledging the receipt of it till I saw him on Monday, had not his letter expressed that there is but one issue of the business he could look upon as fatal, that is, the possibility of the measure being rejected by the weight of those who are supposed to be connected with government. Mr. Pitt must recollect, that though I have ever thought it unfortunate that he had early engaged himself in this measure, yet that I have ever said, that as he was clear of the propriety of the measure, he ought to lay his thoughts before the house; that

out of personal regard to him, I would avoid giving my opinion to any one, on the opening the door to parliamentary reform, except to him; therefore, I am certain Mr. Pitt cannot suspect my having influenced any one on the occasion. If others choose, for base ends, to impute such a conduct to me, I must bear it as former false suggestions. Indeed, on a question of such magnitude, I should think very ill of any man, who took a part on either side, without the maturest consideration, and who would suffer his civility to any one, to make him vote contrary to his own opinion. The conduct of some of Mr. Pitt's most intimate friends on the Westminster scrutiny, shews there are questions men will not by friendship be biassed to adopt.

In 1782, Mr. Pitt had moved for the appointment of a committee, to consider the state of the representation in the House of Commons; and in the following year, he brought forward several resolutions as the basis of the plan which he then wished to be adopted. Having failed in both these instances, he determined upon the present occasion, to submit to the house a precise and explicit proposition, and at once to apply for leave to bring in a bill, which should contain the result of his full consideration upon this important subject, and be in itself complete and final. By this mode of proceeding, he hoped to quiet the alarm of those who were fearful of touching the constitution in any one point, lest the alteration should, under the mask of reform, be progressively carried to a dangerous length. He again reprobated the wild and impracticable notion of universal suffrage, and said, that in his judgment, the just description of the popular branch of our legislature, at this day, ought to be "an assembly fully elected, between whom and the mass of the people, there was the closest union and most perfect sympathy." Such an House of Commons it was the purpose of the framers of our constitution to erect; and he had no other wish, than to restore the House of Commons to that its original state and character, instead of the corrupt and inadequate system into which it had unfortunately degenerated. Those who went farther—those who were advocates for individual representation, deluded themselves with impossibilities, and diverted the public from that plain and practicable path, in which they might travel with safety and ease, to launch them into an unbounded sea, where they had no pilot to direct, no star to guide them. He



He expressed an earnest desire to convince the house, that what he was about to suggest, was not an innovation, but perfectly conformable to the practice of our ancestors in the purest days. To prove that it was an indisputable doctrine of antiquity, that the state of representation was to be changed with the change of circumstances, he stated that from the reign of Edward the First, the earliest period in which distinct descriptions of men could be traced in the representation to that of Charles the Second, there were few reigns in which the representation was not varied. The successive kings exercised a power of summoning, or not summoning, as they pleased; acting always upon this principle, that the places should have such a population as entitled them to send, or rather subjected them to the duty of sending members to parliament. As one borough decayed, and another arose, the one was abolished, and the other invested with the right of choosing members, not however, in such a manner, that the House of Commons always consisted of the same exact number: for upon that point, there was no ancient law or custom; nothing, in fact, even in these times, preventing the executive branch of the legislature from adding to, or diminishing the present number, but the act of Union. So great, indeed, had been the variation, that in the seventeenth century, the crown had ceased to call upon seventy-two boroughs to send burgesses to the House of Commons; thirty-six of which, after the restoration, petitioned to be reinstated in the enjoyment of their ancient franchises. Their petition was granted: but the other thirty-six remained disfranchised. It was therefore evident that change was perfectly congenial to the original principle of representation, and consistent with the practice of former times. The excellence of the British constitution was the fruit of gradual improvement; and had a resistance to all reform, from apprehension of the bad consequences which might possibly ensue, prevailed in former times, Englishmen would never have enjoyed their present boasted privileges and blessings. Upon these authorities, and upon these grounds, he felt himself warranted in proposing, that thirty-six decayed boroughs, each electing two members, should no longer send burgesses to parliament; and that in their room, the different counties and the

metropolis should elect seventy-two additional members, which would constitute a just proportion between county and borough representatives, without increasing the number of the House of Commons; and he farther proposed, that copyholders should vote for counties as well as freeholders; the difference of tenure not justifying in these days, the distinction in respect of voting, which at present subsisted. In the lapse of time, and fluctuation of human affairs, other boroughs might become decayed, the members of which were to be transferred to populous and flourishing towns, previously sending no members to parliament; and to prevent any doubt, a definite number of houses were to be the criterion of a decayed borough. Disavowing, however, all idea of compulsion, he proposed that no old borough should be disfranchised, and no new place authorised to elect members, except upon its own spontaneous application. Boroughs being, in many instances, a species of valuable inheritance and of private property, a voluntary surrender of their rights was not to be expected, without an adequate consideration; and therefore he proposed the establishment of a fund for the purpose of purchasing these franchises, which being of different descriptions, the consideration-money would of course vary.

Such, he said, was the general outline of his plan, the operation of which would be gradual. The provisions of the act would be called into action from time to time, as cases arose. A clear and permanent rule for perpetual improvement in the representation, would be established, equally applicable to the present and all future periods, but giving no sanction or countenance to vague and chimerical schemes of reformation. He conceived it, indeed, to be free from all serious objection, and at the same time, calculated to create that union and sympathy between the constituent and representative which was the surest foundation of liberty to individuals, and of strength and glory to the nation, and the best means, as far as human foresight could extend, for rendering the British constitution immortal. Leaving the detail of the execution to be hereafter discussed, he concluded by moving "That leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament."

Mr. Pitt had the mortification of finding



finding himself defeated a third time; his motion, after a long debate, being negatived by 248 to 174. This was his last attempt to obtain a reform in parliament. Having upon this occasion made every effort, and exerted all the influence in his power, both publicly and privately, and failed by so considerable a majority, he was convinced that any farther trial in the present House of Commons, must be ineffectual and therefore he desisted; and we shall see, that soon after the next general election, he thought it his duty, on account of a most material change in the situation of the country, to oppose a motion upon the subject, brought forward by another person.

#### FIRST ILLNESS OF GEORGE III.

In the early part of the summer of this year, the health of the King had in some degree declined;\* and the day after the prorogation of Parliament, he went to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians, but did not derive the expected benefit from the medicinal waters of that place. He returned to Windsor on the 16th of August, and, not long after, his disorder took a most unfortunate turn. Symptoms of mental derangement occasionally appeared, and gradually increased both in frequency and in degree, so that in the course of the next six or eight weeks he was several times unable to hold his levees at St. James's. On the 21st of October he wrote to Mr. Pitt, desiring to see him at Windsor; and adding, that though an invalid, it would be an amusement to him to talk over business with Mr. Pitt. At the levee on Friday the 24th, his manner and conversation were such, that the nature of his indisposition was evident to all who were present. Mr. Pitt was greatly affected when he attended his Majesty in the closet after the levee, which the King observed, and noticed in writing to him the next day from Kew. In this letter, he said that he held a levee to prevent false reports, and a fall of the stocks; and probably in some degree aware of his situation, he directed Mr. Pitt not to allow any political pa-

\* On the 12th of June the King wrote to Mr. Pitt from Kew, complaining of a bilious disorder, and saying that Sir George Baker (his physician) would not allow him to go to town on that or the following day, quiet being essential to him. On the 18th the King wrote again to Mr. Pitt from Kew, informing him he was better.

pers to be sent to him before the next levee on Wednesday. On Saturday the 25th he went to Windsor; but neither his Majesty, nor any of the royal family attended divine service on the following day, a decisive proof that he was then seriously ill. Nor was he permitted to go to London for the purpose of holding a levee on Wednesday the 29th; but four days afterwards he wrote to Mr. Pitt, informing him, that he was better, and able to sign warrants, but not to read dispatches, and therefore he desired to see Mr. Pitt at Windsor. In neither of these letters is there a single incoherent expression. Hitherto the disorder had fluctuated; but the paroxysms of the malady, accompanied with highly bilious affections, now brought on so violent a fever, that his Majesty became totally and constantly deprived of the use of reason, and his life was for several days in imminent danger.\* Sir George Baker, the physician, who had attended his Majesty at Kew, from the 17th to the 25th of October, afterwards visited him at Windsor; and from the 5th of November, he and Dr. Warren, and Dr. Reynolds remained there day and night; Sir Lucas Pepys, and Dr. Addington attending occasionally. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York took up their residence at Windsor, and the ministers frequently repaired thither to confer with the physicians. The Gazette of November the 11th announced, that the King had passed the preceding night quietly, but that there was no abatement in his complaint.

\* Just at this moment Mr. Pitt wrote to me at Buckden, saying, "The effect most to be dreaded is on the understanding. If this lasts beyond a certain time, it will produce the most difficult and delicate crisis imaginable, in making provision for the government to go on. It must, however, yet be some weeks before that can require decision; but the interval will be a truly anxious one. You shall hear soon again, but, if in the course of a few days, you could spare the time to come to town, I should be very glad to talk with you, as there will be a thousand particulars you must wish to know, which I cannot write. I shall not stir from hence, except for going to enquire at Windsor."

I went to town immediately, and late at night found Mr. Pitt expecting a messenger every moment with the account of the King's death, but the intelligence, which did not arrive till two in the morning, proved more favourable.

About



About this time the state of his Majesty became generally known, and excited the greatest consternation, and most lively grief among all classes and descriptions of his loyal and affectionate subjects. Those who, from their rank and situation in the country, were most interested in the event, and called upon to take a part in this new and calamitous exigency, hastened to the capital.

His Majesty's ministers had intended that parliament should not meet till after Christmas; but it having been prorogued till the 20th of November, and the King, although his life was no longer considered in immediate danger, being, from the unabated continuance of his mental disorder, incapable of ordering a commission to be issued for a farther prorogation, its meeting took place on that day as a matter of course. The ordinary forms of opening a session could not indeed be observed; but the Speaker of the House of Commons, at the request of the members present, took the chair, and several new members were sworn.

Mr. Pitt then stated the cause of parliament being assembled without the usual previous notice or speech from the throne, and expressed a hope that the impropriety of discussing any public business, under present circumstances, would be readily admitted. He proposed that the house should adjourn for a fortnight; and intimated, it would then be indispensably necessary, if his Majesty's disorder should continue, to take into consideration what measures ought to be adopted. To give their proceedings all possible weight and solemnity, he farther proposed, that a call of the House should take place on the 4th of December, and that the Speaker should write circular letters requiring the attendance of every member. All the motions for these purposes passed without a single observation from any person. Similar motions proposed by the Lord President\* passed in the House of Lords.

That some authentic information relative to the situation of his Majesty might be obtained, a privy council was held at Whitehall on the 3d of December, to which all the members, without any discrimination or exception, were summoned,† and the five physi-

cians\* who had attended his Majesty during his illness, were called before them, and examined upon oath. The substance of the answers which they gave to the questions put to them, was, that his Majesty's indisposition rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and of attending to any sort of public business; and that judging from their experience in similar cases, there was a fair probability of his recovery, but that it was impossible to fix any time when that event might be expected.

On the following day, Mr. Pitt presented the report of this examination to the House of Commons, and moved that it should be taken into consideration on the 8th, at the same time giving notice, that he should on that day propose the appointment of a committee to search for precedents, in any degree applicable to the present melancholy state of public affairs. After this motion was unanimously agreed to without any remark, Mr. Vyner suggested a doubt, whether it suited the dignity of parliament to make a report from the privy council the ground work of their proceedings; he was inclined to think, that the house ought to order the attendance of his Majesty's physicians for the purpose of their being examined at the bar, or in a committee above stairs, before any measure should be adopted or proposed.

Mr. Pitt observed, that nothing could be farther from his intention than to preclude the house from pursuing any mode, which might be judged most proper for procuring the necessary information. He was, however, of opinion, that when gentlemen reflected upon the delicacy of the subject, they would think, they might act upon the report of the privy council, without any infringement of the dignity of parliament. It should be remembered, he added, that the examination of the physicians by the privy council, had been upon oath, which could not be the case before that house.† Mr. Fox expressed his approbation of the steps which had been taken,‡ concurring,

\* Dr. Warren, Sir George Baker, Sir Lucas Pepys, Dr. Reynolds, and Dr. Ad-dington.

† The House of Commons has no power to administer an oath to a witness.

‡ When the nature of the King's indisposition was first known, Mr. Fox was in Italy, not expecting that parliament would meet

\* Lord Camden.

† Of 54 who attended, 24 were of the party of opposition.



however, with Mr. Vyner, in the doubt whether the house ought to rest satisfied without the personal examination of those physicians, on whose testimony they were to found consequences of the utmost importance. He admitted that all possible delicacy ought to be observed; but if delicacy and duty should happen to clash, the latter ought not to be sacrificed to the former. Nothing farther was now said upon this subject.

The death of one of the members for Colchester\* having occasioned a vacancy for that borough, the Speaker acquainted the House that he was doubtful whether, during the inefficiency of one branch of the legislature he was authorised to issue writs for filling up vacancies in the representation of the people. Mr. Pitt declared himself to be decidedly of opinion, that though no act could take place, which required the joint concurrence of all the different branches of the legislature, yet each of the houses of parliament, in its separate capacity, was fully competent to the exercise of those powers, which concerned its own orders and jurisdiction. In this sentiment the House acquiesced in silence; and immediately adjourned to the 8th.

The distance of Windsor from London being found extremely inconvenient to the physicians, the King was removed to Kew on the 29th of November:† and the continuance of his disorder, without any abatement, suggested the idea of calling in the advice and assistance of Dr. Willis,‡ who had long been distinguished for his successful treatment of the malady under

meet till after Christmas. An express was immediately sent to him, and he returned to England on the 24th of November.

\* Sir Edmund Affleck.

† Notwithstanding the state of the King's mind, the physicians thought, that a note from Mr. Pitt, expressing a wish that his Majesty would remove to Kew for the benefit of change of air, would have weight with him; and in consequence of Mr. Pitt's note the King consented to a removal, which till then he had resisted.

‡ Dr. Willis was a clergyman, and rector of Wapping. He was doctor of physic in the University of Oxford, and had for twenty-eight years kept an asylum for insane persons at his residence at Gretford, in Lincolnshire, having every year not less than thirty patients, of whom nine out of ten had recovered within three months after they were placed under his care.

which his Majesty laboured. He began his attendance on the 5th of December, and resided constantly at the palace at Kew, having the immediate care of the King's person, and the other physicians visited his Majesty in rotation at stated times.\* A bulletin was sent to St. James's every morning, signed by the physicians; and a lord and a groom of the bedchamber attended for several hours, to shew it to the numerous and anxious inquirers after his Majesty's health. The bulletins were also published in the Gazette.

On the 8th Mr. Pitt called to the recollection of the house, the doubts which had been expressed relative to the propriety of parliament acting upon the evidence which had been given by the physicians before the privy council, and the opinion which he had himself delivered upon that occasion. He had then spoken, he said, from the impulse of the moment; but, being solicitous that the mode of proceeding should be perfectly satisfactory to the house in general, he wished to know whether it was the sense of any number of gentlemen, that a particular inquiry before a committee of their own house, would be more regular and desirable? He stated, that since the last meeting of the house, two more physicians had been called in,† one of whom was particularly conversant in disorders of this kind, which might be considered as an additional reason for appointing a committee of the house to examine the physicians. He had thought it his duty to throw out these ideas; and, as the

\* Either Sir Lucas Pepys, Dr. Gisborne, or Dr. Reynolds was at Kew from four o'clock every afternoon till eleven the next morning. At ten o'clock every morning Dr. Warren or Sir George Baker came to Kew, and consulted with the physician, who had been there all night, and with Dr. Willis, and generally remained there about an hour. Dr. John Willis, Dr. Willis's son, was constantly at Kew as an assistant to his father, and another of his sons was also frequently there. Dr. Addington had left off practice, but was sent for from Reading, where he resided, in the beginning of the King's illness, because he had formerly paid particular attention to cases of insanity; he occasionally saw his Majesty with the other physicians, in the subsequent part of his illness; but his age and infirmities would not allow him to attend regularly.

† Dr. Willis and Dr. Gisborne.

only



only mode of ascertaining the sentiments of the house, he moved, "That a committee be appointed to examine the physicians who have attended his Majesty, touching the state of his health, and report such examination to the house." This motion was unanimously approved, and a committee of twenty-one members, proposed by Mr. Pitt, nine of whom were of the opposition party, was appointed, after which the house adjourned.

The committee met next day, and Mr. Pitt was chosen chairman. Those physicians, who had been examined by the privy council, repeated the opinions they had before delivered; and Dr. Willis, who was now examined for the first time, expressed a confident hope, that the King would recover, though he could not pronounce how long his majesty's illness might continue. He attributed the disorder to weighty business, severe exercise, too great abstemiousness, and too little rest; he added, that the medicine, which had been given to his Majesty, since Sunday morning, with the intention of meeting and counteracting those causes, had already produced as much effect as he could reasonably have expected, and that his Majesty had been gradually better from the first six hours after taking it. Some of the other physicians admitted, that his Majesty's general health was rather improved. The fact was, that the view which Dr. Willis took of the King's complaint was very different from that of the regular physicians; their mode of treating his Majesty, had, it was confessed, entirely failed; and, by the recommendation of Dr. Willis, a new plan was adopted, and on their part with very slender, and on his with very sanguine, expectations of success.

#### DISMISSAL OF THE LORD CHANCELLOR THURLOW.

The extraordinary manner in which, as has been related, the Lord Chancellor opposed the loan bill, rendered it necessary for Mr. Pitt to take a step, which the common friends of those two distinguished persons had for some time seen to be inevitable. From the commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration, to the period of the King's illness, the Lord Chancellor had acted with the utmost zeal and cordiality as a member of the cabinet;\* but during the

proceedings in parliament, to which that unhappy event gave rise, a great alteration took place in his conduct; to such a degree indeed, that upon several occasions Mr. Pitt felt by no means confident what part he would take in the debates in the House of Lords. In all the discussions, however, relative to the regency, he invariably, and with apparent sincerity, supported the principles and measures of Mr. Pitt, but not entirely without suspicion, at a moment of the greatest difficulty, of a disposition to pursue an opposite line, in consequence of his being admitted to frequent interviews with the Prince of Wales. Whether the amendment, which took place in the King's health, had any influence in this respect, it is impossible to know. After his Majesty's recovery, the same coolness and reserve towards Mr. Pitt, continued and gradually increased, although there was no difference of opinion upon any political question, nor did there appear any other cause for dissatisfaction.

This was a matter of so great importance, that it was thought right to make the King acquainted with it; and his Majesty wrote to the Lord Chancellor upon the subject, towards the end of November, 1789, and received such an answer as led him confidently to hope that Mr. Pitt would in future have no reason to complain of the Lord Chancellor. This, however, proved by no means the case; and Mr. Pitt at length, convinced that he could not rely upon Lord Thurlow's co-operation, submitted to the King, at the beginning of the following November, the expediency of advancing Mr. William Grenville, who was then Secretary of State, to the peerage, for the purpose of conducting the public business in the House of Lords, and of remedying those inconveniencies which had frequently arisen from the waywardness of the Lord Chancellor. To this proposal his Majesty immediately assented; but though Mr. Pitt had now the satisfaction of feeling entirely at ease, as far as the support of the measures of government was concerned in the House of Lords, yet he still had the mortification of observing a continuance of the same unfriendly disposition in the Lord Chancellor.

which he had in contemplation, with Lord Thurlow, as he was sure to hear from him every objection to which it was liable.

One

\* Mr. Pitt used to say that he always found it useful to talk over any measure



One of the members of the cabinet,\* who had been intimately acquainted, as well as politically connected, with the Lord Chancellor for many years, repeatedly remonstrated with him, upon his present conduct towards Mr. Pitt, which he represented to be the subject of serious concern to all their colleagues, and earnestly pressed him both for private and public reasons, to state openly and candidly his ground of complaint, assuring him, that no offence or neglect had been intended, and that Mr. Pitt was ready to enter into an explanation upon any point he might wish. This friendly interposition entirely failed: no explicit answer could be obtained; nor did the Chancellor mention a single objection to Mr. Pitt's public measures, or specify one instance of inattention to himself. He persevered in taking every opportunity of marking his personal dislike of Mr. Pitt, though constantly warned of the unreasonableness and unavoidable consequence of such behaviour; and at last his spleen broke forth in a violent censure of a bill, to which he knew Mr. Pitt annexed the greatest importance;† and he actually voted against it without having given any previous notice of his intention. Mr. Pitt, who had shewn more forbearance than any other man would have done under similar circumstances, had now no alternative. Neither the good of the public service, nor a regard of his own feelings and character, would allow him to submit to such an indignity; and on the following morning, he respectfully submitted to the King, the impossibility of his remaining in office with the Lord Chancellor, and the consequent necessity of his Majesty's making his choice between them.‡

\* The Marquis of Stafford.

† The bill for liquidating all future loans.

‡ Mr. Pitt, at the same time, wrote the following letter to the Lord Chancellor:

*Downing-street, May 16, 1792.*

My Lord.—I think it right to take the earliest opportunity of acquainting your lordship, that being convinced of the impossibility of his Majesty's service being any longer carried on to advantage, while your lordship and myself both remain in our present situations, I have felt it my duty to submit that opinion to his Majesty; humbly requesting his Majesty's determination thereupon. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. PITT.

The King was in some degree prepared for this communication, and the Lord Chancellor was immediately acquainted, by his Majesty's command, that he must resign the seals.\* But as a change was not desirable so near the end of the session, and some time was requisite to bring business depending in the court of chancery to a conclusion, he did not actually give up the seals till the day of the prorogation, when they were placed in the hands of three commissioners.†

This dismissal of the Lord Chancellor was not followed by a single resignation or change in any political or legal department: nor was it expected to effect the vote of one member in either house of parliament—a clear proof of the opinion which was entertained of Mr. Pitt's conduct upon this occasion.

#### MR. PITT'S APPOINTMENT TO THE WARDENSHIP OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

By the death of Lord Guildford, on the 5th of August in this year, the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, worth 3000*l.* a year, became vacant; and the king immediately offered it to Mr. Pitt, in the following most gracious and pressing terms:

*Windsor, August 6, 1792.*

Having this morning received the account of the death of the Earl of Guildford, I take the first opportunity of acquainting Mr. Pitt, that the wardenship of the Cinque Ports is an office, for which I will not receive any recommendation; having positively resolved to confer it on him, as a mark of that regard, which his eminent services have deserved from me. I am so bent on this, that I shall be seriously offended at any attempt to decline. I have intimated these my intentions to the Earl of Chatham, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas."

His Majesty, knowing that Mr. Pitt was at Burton Pynsent on a visit to his mother, sent the above letter to Mr. Dundas, in London, adding, "Mr. Dundas is to forward it with a few lines from himself, expressing, that I will not admit of this favour being declined. I desire that Lord Chatham may also write, and that Mr. Dundas will take the first opportunity of acquainting

\* His opposition to the new forest bill, was subsequent to this notice.

† The three commissioners were, Lord Chief Baron Eyre, Mr. Justice Ashurst, and Mr. Justice Wilson.

Lord



Lord Grenville with the step I have taken."\*

We have seen that Mr. Pitt declined an office of the same value soon after he became first Lord of the Treasury, and at a moment, when his continuance in that situation was extremely uncertain. Having then been only a short time in his Majesty's service, he felt that he had no claim upon the public, and the very peculiar circumstances in which he stood, instead of operating as an inducement to seize that opportunity of securing to himself a provision, determined him to dispose of the Clerkship of the Pells, without benefit to himself, or to any relative or friend. But he had now been prime minister nearly nine years; and conscious that he had employed all his time and thoughts in endeavouring to promote the interests of his country; and knowing that besides giving up a lucrative profession, he had expended the whole of his private fortune, in addition to his official income, he gratefully accepted this mark of his Majesty's condescending kindness and approbation; and the propriety of the appointment was never called in question by any party or person.†

\* The King had always expressed a great desire to make some provision for Mr. Pitt. In May, 1790, Mr. Pitt applied by letter to the King, for a reversion of a tellership of the exchequer, in favour of Lord Auckland's son, to which his Majesty assented, and added, "had Mr. Pitt proposed some means of rendering it of utility to himself it would have been pleasing to me, as I do not feel easy at not having had an opportunity of securing a provision for him, in case of my paying that tribute to which every one is sooner or later subject."

† This assertion admits of one exception. A noble Duke, who then held a high situation in his Majesty's household, applied to Mr. Pitt for this office, which was also considered to be in the gift of the minister; and he took every opportunity of expressing and shewing his resentment, that Mr. Pitt would not decline in his favour. Three years afterwards he refused to give his vote for a professorship at Cambridge, which vote he had in right of his official situation, according to Mr. Pitt's wishes, assigning his disappointment with respect to the Cinque Ports as his reason: and yet the noble Duke was suffered to retain his situation in the household till his death, in 1799.

TRAVELS  
IN  
GEORGIA, PERSIA, ARMENIA,  
Ancient Babylonia,  
&c. &c.

DURING THE  
Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820.

BY  
SIR ROBERT KER PORTER.

With numerous Engravings of Portraits,  
Costumes, Antiquities, &c.

In two Volumes. Vol. I. 4to. pp. 720. London,  
1821.

[This gentleman commenced his travels in August, 1817, at St. Petersburg, went to Odessa, on the Black Sea, and thence into Persia; during three years he kept a regular journal of all he saw worthy of observation, and wrote his remarks from the impressions on the spot. His materials will form two volumes, the first of which is now published: and it is in many respects one of the best books of the Season.]

PRICE OF LABOUR AT ODESSA.

Personal labour at Odessa and its dependencies, is excessively high. A soldier may gain three rubles per day for manual work; a regular carpenter, seven; consequently all articles of living are dear; and to lessen the expense of labour, every expedient is adopted to effect its purpose with the fewest hands. One attempt is to divide the corn from the ear without flail or threshing machine. Several four-wheeled carts are filled with stones, and each drawn by two horses, they are then driven in a regular circle over the sheaves as they lie on the ground, carefully disposed in rows. Some of the proprietors perform a similar operation by the trampling of horses without carts.

A GRASS FIRE.

This terrible accident generally happens by the carelessness of the bullock-drivers, or of persons belonging to caravans of merchandize, who halt for the night on the open plain, and on departing in the morning, neglect to extinguish their fires. Wind, or some other casualty, brings the hot embers in contact with the high and dry grass of the Steppe; it bursts into flame, and burns on devouring as it goes with a fire almost unquenchable. That which



which I now beheld, arose from negligence of this kind, and soon extended itself over a space of forty wersts; continuing its ravages for many days, consuming all the outstanding corn, ricks, hovels, in short, every thing in its devastating path: the track it left was dreadful.

#### COUNT PLATOFF.

On being ushered as a stranger into an apartment, where I was met by the Attaman's secretary, (the only person in his establishment who could speak French,) I mentioned my name to him, and the good gentleman's joyous surprise was no unpleasant token of his chief's welcome. I did not delay being conducted to the Attaman's presence; and words cannot express the hospitable greeting of the kind old man. He embraced me, and repeatedly congratulated himself on the events, whatever they might have been, which had induced me to change my route to that of his territory. When he could spare me to proceed, he said, he would pledge himself that I should have every facility in his power to bring me to Tiflis in safety. The police officer of Tcherkask being in the room, was ordered to provide me suitable quarters in the town; but the Attaman's table was to be mine, and he commanded an equipage to be placed entirely at my disposal. I urged that my stay must be short; but he would not hear of my leaving him till I had shared with him the honour of a visit he was then expecting from his imperial highness the Grand Duke Michael. Anxious as I was to lose no time in crossing the Caucasus, I could not withstand persuasions flowing from a heart so kindly to myself, and grateful to my country. He expressed, in the most enthusiastic language, his sense of the attentions bestowed on him by all ranks of persons during his stay in England, in the year 1814; he said, that independent of private respect for individuals, he must always consider himself fortunate when circumstances brought any Englishman into the Donskoy country, to whom he might evince his gratitude.

I passed the remainder of the day with my venerable host; and on my return to the city, found most comfortable quarters, to which, in my absence, my carriage, servants, &c, had been carefully transferred. All were placed under a guard of honour, which was to hold attendance there during my stay at Tcherkask.

Next morning Count Platoff called upon me to see how his hospitable orders had been fulfilled. He took me to dine with him at his house in Tcherkask, whither he was going to inspect the preparations he had ordered for welcoming his imperial highness the Grand Duke Michael.

The hour of dinner, in this country, is generally two o'clock: but Count Platoff always dined at five, or sometimes a little later. The manner of serving the repast differs in nothing from the style at Moscow, excepting that more wine is drank. The wines most in use, came from the Greek islands; yet his Excellency boasts his own red and white champagnes of the Don, which, when old, are hardly inferior to the wines of that name in France. I drank at the Attaman's table another sort of red wine, as excellent as any from Bourdeaux. It is made by a family of German, whom his excellency brought from the Rhine. And, from these specimens, I have little doubt that were the like culture of the grape, and similar treatment of the juice when pressed from the fruit, pursued throughout the country, the Donskoy vineyards would produce wines that might rival, not only those of Greece, but of France and Germany.

Game is abundant here, and of the most delicious sort, particularly bustards, pheasants, partridges, &c. &c. Fish, too, is in equal plenty; and as a luxury, sturgeon holds an eminent place. Indeed, good cheer of all kinds is procured at a very moderate expense; and if I may be allowed to judge by the liberal examples I saw, the bounties of nature are neither neglected nor churlishly appropriated by the natives of the Don.

#### COSSACK WOMEN.

The usual female appearance is short stature, faces of strong Tartar features, with eyes, however, almost invariably large and dark. The style of dress is decidedly fashioned from the east. A sort of chemisette, (or small shift,) of coloured linen, buttoned round the neck, and with sleeves to the wrist; a pair of trowsers, of similar stuff, are covered by a silk caftan, reaching as low as the ancles. This upper garment is fastened from the neck to the bottom of the waist, with buttons of small pearls, in form and workmanship like those in gold or silver from the Brazils. The waist is bound with a girdle also, ornamented with pearls, and frequently clasped



clasped by a diamond buckle. The heads of married ladies are adorned with, literally, a silken night-cap, which is wrapped about with a gaily-coloured handkerchief, in the form of a fillet. The unmarried, (like the damsels in Russia of the lower class,) wear their hair in a long plait down their backs; but with this difference from the Russian girl,—instead of a bunch of ribbons at the termination of the plait, the handkerchief with which the head is bound, twists round the braid, nearly to its end, something in the manner of the Corsican caps.

#### MOUNTAINS OF CAUCASUS.

No pen can express the emotion which the sudden burst of this sublime range excited in my mind. I had seen almost all the wildest and most gigantic chains in Portugal and Spain, but none gave me an idea of the vastness and grandeur of that I now contemplated. This seemed Nature's bulwark between the nations of Europe and of Asia. Elborus, amongst whose rocks tradition reports Prometheus to have been chained, stood, clad in primeval snows, a world of mountains in itself, towering above all, its white and radiant summits mingling with the heavens; while the pale and countless heads of the subordinate range, high in themselves, but far beneath its altitude, stretched along the horizon, till lost to sight in the soft fleeces of the clouds. Several rough and huge masses of black rock rose from the intermediate plain; their size was mountainous; but being viewed near the mighty Caucasus, and compared with them, they appeared little more than hills; yet the contrast was fine, their dark brows giving greater effect to the dazzling summits which towered above them. Poets hardly feign, when they talk of the genius of a place. I know not who could behold Caucasus, and not feel the spirit of its sublime solitudes awing his soul.

#### FEMALE BATHS AT TIFLIS.

I was urged by the gentleman who accompanied me, to try if we could not get a glimpse into the baths dedicated to the fair sex. The attempt seemed wild; but, to please him, I turned towards the building, and, to our astonishment, found no difficulty in entering. An old woman was standing at the door, and she, without the least scruple, not only shewed us the way, but played our sybil the whole while.

In one of the bathing-rooms nearest to the door we found a great number of

naked children, of different infantine ages, immersed in a circular bath in the middle of the chamber, where their mothers were occupied in washing and rubbing them. The forms of children are always lovely; and, altogether, there being a regularity, and its consequent cleanliness, attending the adjustment of their little persons, we looked on, without receiving any of those disagreeable impressions which had disgusted us in the baths of their fathers. Passing through this apartment, without any remark of surprise or displeasure from the mothers of the children, we entered a much larger chamber, well lighted, and higher vaulted in the roof. No water was seen here; but a stone divan, spread with carpets and mattresses, was placed round the room, and on it lay, or sat, women in every attitude and occupation consequent on an Asiatic bath. Some were half dressed, and others hardly had a covering. They were attended by servants, employed in rubbing the fair forms of these ladies with dry cloths, or dyeing their hair and eye-brows, or finally painting, or rather enamelling, their faces. On quitting this apartment (which we did as easily as we entered it, without creating the least alarm or astonishment at our audacity,) we passed into the place from whence they had just emerged from the water. Here we found a vast cavern-like chamber, gloomily lighted, and smelling most potently of sulphuric evaporations, which ascended from nearly twenty deep excavations. Through these filmy vapours, wreathing like smoke over the surface of a boiling cauldron, we could distinguish the figures of women, in every posture, perhaps, which the fancy of man could devise for the sculpture of bathing goddesses. But, I confess, we were as much shocked as surprised, at the unblushing coolness with which the Georgian Venuses continued their ablutions, after they had observed our entrance; they seemed to have as little modest covering on their minds, as on their bodies; and the whole scene became so unpleasant, that, declining our conductress's offer to shew us farther, we made good our retreat, fully satisfied with the extent of our gratified curiosity.

Persons who bathe for health do not remain longer than a few minutes, or whatever time may be prescribed, in the water; but when the bath is taken



for pleasure, these people are so fond of it, that like the Turks in the case of opium, they prolong its application to such an extent, as ultimately to be equally injurious to their strength and personal appearance. Some pass many hours every day in this debilitating atmosphere, independent of one whole day in each week; great part of which however, is spared from the water, to be spent in making up their faces, blackening the hair, eye-brows and eye-lashes, so as to render only occasional repairs necessary during the ensuing week. Thus occupied in the vaulted room, these Eastern goddesses, growing in renewed beauty under the hands of their attendant graces, meet each other in social conference; discussing family anecdotes, or little scandals of their acquaintance; and, not unfrequently, laying as entertaining grounds of retaliation, by the arrangement of some little intrigue of their own. For, I am told, there are days in the week when any lady may engage the bath for herself alone, or with any other party she may choose to introduce as her companion. The good dame who was our conductress, I understood, is never backward in preparing such accommodation.

#### CIRCISSIAN WOMEN.

They are taught by their mothers not merely the use of the needle in decorative works, but to make their own clothes, and those of the men of their family. Soon after a female infant is born, her waist is encircled by a leathern bandage, sewn tight, and which only gives way afterwards to the natural growth of the child. It is then replaced by another; and so on till the shape is completely formed, according to the taste of the country. The first night of her nuptials, the husband cuts the cincture with his poignard; a custom something dangerous, and certainly terrific to the blushing bride. After marriage, the women are kept very close, not even their husband's own relations being suffered to visit them; but what seems an extraordinary inconsistency, a man has no objection to allow that privilege to a stranger, whom he permits to enter the sacred precincts of his home, without himself to be a guard over its decorum. For it is a rule with the Circassians never to be seen by a third person in the presence of their wives; and they observe it strictly to their latest years.

On the morning of the celebration of a marriage, the bride presents her in-

tended husband with a coat of mail, helmet, and all other articles necessary for a full equipment for war. Her father, on the same day, gives her a small portion of her dowry; while he at the same time, receives from his son-in-law, an exchange of genealogies; a punctilio, on which they all pique themselves with as great a nicety, as on any point of personal honour; every man being more or less esteemed, according to the purity and illustrious names of his descent. When the first child of the marriage is born, the father of the bride pays up the residue of her fortune to the husband; presenting her, at the same auspicious moment, with the distinguishing badges of married women (never put on with this tribe until offspring is the fruit of union,) which honourable marks are, a long white veil over a sort of red coif: all the rest of the dress being white also. Indeed, white is universal with the women, married and single, but the men always wear colours. The wife has the care of her husband's arms and armour; and she is so habitually anxious he should not disgrace them, that if she have the most distant idea he has used them with less bravery, in any particular action, than his brethren, she never ceases assailing him with reproach and derision, till he washes away the stain of imputed cowardice, either in the blood of his enemies or his own. At present, the professed religion of these people is Mahometan; but this sort of female heroism, speaks more like the high mind of a Spartan virgin or a Roman matron, than one of the soulless daughters of the Arabian prophet. Formerly the Christian faith had made some progress among them, but not a vestige of its ordinances is now to be found. Hospitality, however, is an eminent virtue with the tribe of the true Circassians; and it is no inconsequential one, in the remote regions of savage men, and more savage hostility. One of the courtesies peculiarly reserved by this tribe, to do honour to strangers, I have already mentioned; that of admitting them to the sacredness of their domestic hearths; but this sort of welcome goes still farther, and even to a preposterous length (to say the least of it) amongst other tribes of the Caucasus, and particularly that of Kisty. When a traveller arrives at one of their abodes, the host orders one of his daughters to do the honours of his reception, to take care of his horse and baggage,



to prepare his meals, and when night comes on, to share his bed. The refusal of the latter part of the entertainment, would be considered as a great affront to the young lady and her father. The natives of a part of Lapland, not very far from Torneo, have a similar custom; but then it is the wife of the host, whom he delivers into the bosom of his guest; and she remains with the stranger as his exclusive property, during the whole of his sojourn under her husband's roof. This fact I learnt while I was in that part of the world, during the months of December and January, in the severe winter of 1812-13.

#### AVALANCHE IN CAUCASUS.

The pale summit of the mountain Kasibek, on the side which shelves down into the dark valley between Derial and the village which bears the mountain's name, had been seen abruptly to move. In an instant it was launched forward; and nothing was now beheld for the shaken snow and dreadful overshadowing of the falling destruction. The noise that accompanied it was the most stunning, bursting, and rolling onward, of all that must make death certain. As the avalanche rushed, huge masses of rock, rifted from the mountain's side, were driven before it: and the snows and ice of centuries, pouring down in immense shattered forms and rending heaps, fell like the fall of an earthquake; covering from human eyes, villages, valleys, and people! What an awful moment, when all was still! when the dreadful cries of man and beast were heard no more; and the tremendous avalanche lay a vast, motionless, white shroud on all around.

#### HOUSE IN CAUCASUS.

Within is a room which fills the whole compass of the house, being from sixteen to eighteen feet wide, and often of still greater length; a size we might deem ill-proportioned to the outward lowness of the dwelling; but it is dug three or four feet below the surface of the earth, which gives a height to the apartment, not to be anticipated from without. At one end, commonly near the door, a space is always left untouched by the spade, sufficient to form a sort of distinct chamber; but not otherwise divided from the sunken part, than by the more elevated floor. At one side of this superior quarter, we find the hearth with its chimney; and opposite to them, a small hole in

the roof, to admit light. The floor is the bare earth, beaten very hard; but coarse carpets are spread along the sides for the people to sit and sleep on. No table or stools are visible. The walls are merely dried mud, with something like cupboards left in them, to hold the little property of the family. Directly over the fire-place, we find a small hollow of the same kind, for the reception of a hand-lamp, and this they never failed lighting up, whenever I happened to be their guest, though I always on such occasions burnt my own candles. So much for the human-habitable part of this sepulchral-like abode; the rest of it, that is, the pit, was assigned to the pigs, sheep, horses, &c. of the family.

#### MONASTERY OF EITCH-MAI-ADZEN.

A fragment of the ark, which had havened in the mountain, under whose shadow this venerable monastery has continued for so many centuries in perfect safety. The circumstances which brought the relic into the possession of the fathers, is thus related:—Many hundred years ago, a certain pious monk of the order, undertook the hitherto unattempted [Qu? unaccomplished] task of ascending to the top of the mountain, to find the remains of the sacred vessel, and to bring away some part of it, to receive a due shrine in the church at the foot of Ararat. But ere he had gone far over the snows of the last terrible regions of ice and cold, he fell asleep, and an angel appearing to him, in a vision, told him, that beyond such a point no mortal since the descent of Noah was permitted to pass; but that, in reward to the singular piety of the convent, a heavenly messenger had been commanded to bring to this, its devout brother, a plank of the holy ship; which, at his awaking, he would find at his side. When the monk arose, he found it was as the angel had said, and the remainder of the long story may easily be guessed at.

#### MOSQUES.

Of the two hundred and fifty mosques mentioned by Chardin, the ruins of only three are visible. The most considerable is that of Ali Shah, erected nearly six hundred years ago, by Ali Kojah; and which still presents lofty arches, and the mouldering vaulted work of splendid domes. The whole of the building, within and without, has been cased with lackered tiles of porcelain, adjusted into intricate, and elaborate



elaborate figures, with an ingenuity and taste that would honour the most accomplished artists of any age. The colours of these decorations are green, dark and light blue, interspersed with Arabic sentences in letters of gold; and a broad band of such legends, formed in white, upon this beautifully varied ground, and interwoven with flowers in green and gold, winds round the entire extent of the building. This fine ruin is within the new fortifications of the city, as are also the remains of the arch or citadel. In former times, it is said to have contained the royal palace with its attendant mosque. Very legible traces of these different structures are yet to be found within its lofty though riven walls. The height of those walls may be about eighty feet, commanding an extensive view on every side, over the lately erected works, and making a conspicuous object to a great distance from the town. The materials of the whole structure are of brick, and put together with the nicest care. Indeed, that so much of it exists after the general overthrow by two earthquakes, proves the excellence of its workmanship. Part of it is now used as an arsenal; and also to a very dismal purpose. A few years ago, a woman was precipitated from the top of the highest point of its wall, into the ditch beneath, as a punishment for the murder of her husband; a crime till then almost unheard of in the annals of Persian domestic life.

#### MINISTERIAL DINNER.

A few minutes elapsed, says Sir Robert, before the prime minister made his appearance. On his entrance we all rose, and, on being re-seated, he bowed to each person according to his rank, uttering at the same time a compliment befitting the esteemed importance of the guest. The routine of the entertainment was then as follows:—"kaliouns were presented; then coffee, served in very small cups, and without cream or sugar. Kaliouns succeeded; then tea, in large cups; and this, over conversation, filled an interval of ten minutes, when the minister gave a signal for dinner to be brought. Several servants immediately entered, bearing a long narrow roll of flowered cotton in their arms, which they laid down and spread before the whole company, who now occupied both sides of the room. This drapery was placed close to our knees. The next service was to set a piece of thin sort of bread

or cake before each guest, to be used as a plate and napkin. Then came a tray between every two persons, containing the following articles of food: two bowls of sherbet, each provided with a wooden spoon of delicate and elegant workmanship; a couple of dishes of pillau, composed of rice soaked in oil or butter, boiled fowls, raisins, and a little saffron. Two plates, with melons sliced; two others, containing a dozen kabbobs, or morsels of dry boiled meat, and a dish presenting a fowl roasted to a cinder. The whole party along the extended web being in like manner supplied, the host gave the sign for falling to; a command that seemed to be understood literally, for every back became bent, every face was brought close to the point of attack, and every jaw, in an instant, was in motion. This is done by a marvellous dexterity in gathering up the rice, or victuals of any kind, with the right hand, and almost at the same moment thrusting it into the mouth. The left hand is never used by the Persians but in the humblest offices; however, during meals at least, the honoured member certainly does the business of two, for no cessation could be observed in the active passage of meat, melon, sherbet, &c. from the board to the mouths of the grave and distinguished assembly. I must say I never saw a more silent repast in my whole life, nor one where the sounds of mastication were so audible. In some countries it may be "merry in the hall, when heads wag all:" but here I could only think of a similar range of respectable quadrupeds, with their heads not farther from their troughs than ours were from the trays. For my part, whenever I wished to avail myself of the heaps of good provender on mine, (the tray) at every attempt to throw a little rice into my mouth, it disappeared up my sleeve; so that after several unsuccessful essays, I gave up the enjoyment of this most savoury dish of the feast, and contented myself with a dry kabbob or two.

When the servants cleared away, it was in the order that the things had been put down. A silver-plated jug, with a long spout, accompanied by a basin of the same metal, was carried round to every guest, by an attendant, who poured water from the jug on our right hands, which we held in succession over the basin, while each individual cleansed his beard or mustachios from the remnants of dinner.

We



We had no towel to dry one or the other, save our own pocket-handkerchiefs; the bread-napkin or plate having no capability but to be eaten off, and to wipe the ends of the fingers between every new plunge into the opposite dish. A kalioun, with tea, followed; and continued, with a few interruptions, during the conversation which had broken the dead silence on the departure of the rolled-up web and its appendages. A fresh kalioun finished the entertainment, and we then rose to take our leave."

#### POISONOUS INSECT.

The town of Mianna, and its immediately adjacent villages, are infested with a plague they have found it impossible to eradicate, in the form of a small but poisonous bug, which breeds in myriads in all the old houses, and may be seen creeping over every part of their walls, of the size and shape of the bugs in Europe, only a little flatter and in colour of a bright red. Its bite is mortal, producing death at the expiration of eight or nine months. Strangers of every sort, not merely foreigners, but the persons not usually inhabiting the town or its vicinity, are liable to be thus poisoned; while the people themselves or the adjacent peasantry are either never bitten, or if so, the consequences are not more baneful than the sting of the least noxious insect.

#### MURDER OF MR. BROWNE.

This enterprising traveller, who had perfected himself in the Turkish language, assumed the Turkish dress, and, thus equipped, set forward with an intent to penetrate through Khorasan. So little was danger from attacks of any kind apprehended, by the persons best acquainted with the state of the country, that no difficulties whatever were suggested as likely to meet him, and accordingly he proceeded in full confidence. Having reached the pass of Irak, he stopped at the Caravansary to take a little refreshment. That over, he remounted his horse; and, leaving his servant to pack up the articles he had been using, and then follow him, he rode gently forward along the mountains. Mr. Browne had scarcely proceeded half a mile, when suddenly two men on foot came up behind him; one of whom, with a blow from a club, before he was aware, struck him senseless from his horse. Several other villains, at the same instant, sprang from hollows in the hills, and bound him hand and foot. At this moment they

offered him no further personal violence; but as soon as he had recovered from the stupor, occasioned by the first mode of attack, he looked round and saw the robbers plundering both his baggage and his servant, the man having come forward on the road in obedience to the commands of his master. When the depredators found their victim restored to observation, they told him it was their intention to put an end to his life, but that was not the place where the final stroke should be made. Mr. Browne, incapable of resistance, calmly listened to his own sentence, but intreated them to spare his poor servant, and allow him to depart with his papers, which could be of no use to them. All this they granted; and what may appear still more extraordinary, these ferocious brigands, to whom the acquisition of arms must be as the staff of life, made the man a present of his master's pistols and double-barrelled gun: but they were English, and the marks might have betrayed the new possessors. These singular robbers then permitted Mr. Browne to see his servant safe out of sight, before they laid further hands on himself; after which they carried him, and the property they had reserved for themselves, into a valley on the opposite side of the Kizzilouzan, and, without parley, terminated his existence, it is supposed, by strangulation. They stripped his corpse of every part of his raiment, and then left it on the open ground, a prey to wolves and other wild animals. The servant, meanwhile, made the best of his way towards Tabreez, where he related the tale I have just told.

#### THE SEAT OF ASSASSINS.

The faith of these people was a wild aberration from the Mahomedan creed, mingling with its laws and fatalities the transmigratory doctrines of the Hindoos; and, in consequence, they believed that their prince or iman was a successive incarnation of the Great Prophet, and that every behest of his to good or evil, must be obeyed as implicitly as the word of God himself. The first of this tribe who arrogated these divine pretensions, was Hassan Saheb; a man whose domineering passions, consummate subtilty, and persevering spirit of enterprize, perfectly fitted for his plan of imposture. He appeared about the year 1090; and by various intrigues, and singular mysterious deportment, as well as so invincible a courage that few dared to resist that approached it,



it, he inspired the ignorant barbarians around him with a firm belief in his mission, and an enthusiastic devotion to himself. His despotic authority followed of course. Once secure of his empire over these mountain hordes, he secured every pass with fastnesses; and holding himself totally independent of the surrounding states, he spread his colonies over Elborz, and along the whole range of hills to beyond Tabreez; whence they issued forth, singly or in bands, at the command of their iman, or his deputed emissaries, to destroy by open assault, ambuscade, or private murder, all people or persons that were obnoxious either to his ambition or his avarice. Christians, Jews, Mahomedans of Omar or of Ali, all were alike the subjects of his excommunication; and he sold his dagger, or rather that of his followers, to whatever party were vile enough to buy the blood of their enemies. There was a mystical obscurity about his person, and in the views of his widely extending government, with a dauntless determination of proceeding, which held the princes of that dark age in a kind of superstitious awe. Jealous of his sway, and abhorring his tenets: contemning his divine pretensions, yet doubting whether he did not possess some super-human means of mischief; they dreaded a power, which seemed to hang over themselves and people with constant threatening, though never showing when nor where it would strike. He soon acquired from these appalled sovereigns, the vague but supreme title of Sheik-ul-Jebal, or lord of the mountains; while in the minds of the most superstitious people, he might well be considered one of the dreadful Dees, or Demons of the waste.

It so happened, that for more than two centuries, in short, from their accession to their extinction, every successor of the first Iman inherited the same dispositions to turn the blind zeal of their followers to the worst purposes. A colony of these fanatics, under the leading of one of Hassan Sabeb's most odious representatives, settled themselves among the heights of Lebanon, and have been variously called Ismaelians, Bathenians, or Assassins. That colony is the best known to European historians, from the horrible enormities which its people committed in the towns and villages of the Holy Land; and not less so on the persons and lives of some of our most gallant crusaders.

It is woeful to read who were the victims of these savages; but often much more horrible to turn the page and find who were their employers. Their universal violence, however, at last, armed every hand against them; and, much about the same time, towards the end of the thirteenth century, they were rooted out of Syria and Egypt, (whither they had extended themselves) and from their original seats in Persia; leaving nothing but their appropriate appellation of assassins behind them; no longer to be considered what it had originally imported, the mere distinguishing name of a sect, but to have severally affixed from age to age hereafter, as a peculiar brand of infamy, on every treacherous, secret, or hired murderer.

Halukoo, the Mogul conqueror of Persia and of the family of the famous Zingis Khan, was the prince whose victorious arms almost repaid to his new dominions, the devastations of his conquest, by the entire extirpation of the lawless race, which had so long preyed on the vitals of the country.

#### MIRZA SHEFFY, PREMIER OF PERSIA.

His station near the sovereign gives him a kind of reflecting consequence, that makes a nod or a smile from him so full of a similar quality, that it may shed honour *ad infinitum* downwards; graduating dignity, according to its distance from the original fountain of favour. First one happy courtier, and then another, had received these marks of peculiar grace; and, in consequence, became the little centre of a temporary adulation from hundreds; many of whom envied the favour they sought to conciliate, even at second or third hand. Amongst the latter order of suitors was a rich, but otherwise inconsiderable individual, who had long attended Mirza Sheffy's levees, without having received the slightest notice; but chancing one day to find the minister alone for a few moments, he seized the opportunity, and thus addressed him:—

“I have had the honour of placing myself, for these many months back, in your Excellency's sight, in the midst of your crowded halls, and yet have never had the happiness of receiving a single glance. But if your Excellency would condescend, in the next assembly of your visitors, to *rise a little* on my entrance, such a distinction would be the height of my ambition; I should henceforth be held of consequence in the eyes of the khans. And for this honour



honour I would give your Excellency a consideration of one hundred tomanus."

It was an argument his Excellency liked so well, he closed with the proposal, and the time for the solemn investing-dignity was arranged for the next day. The happy man took care not to make his appearance till the divan of the minister was pretty well filled. He then presented himself on the most conspicuous part of the carpet, big with ideas of the ever-growing honours of which that moment was to make him master. He looked proudly round on the rest of the khans, while Mirza Sheffy, half raising himself from his seat, by his knuckles, and fixing his eyes gravely on him, to the no small astonishment of the rest of the company, exclaimed, "Is that enough?" The man was so overcome with confusion, he hurried from the room; leaving his distinction and his money alike with the minister; but taking with him the useful lesson, that bought honours are generally paid with disgrace. The laugh for once went without doubt of sincerity, with the great man; and his smiles became of still higher value, since it had been proved that he set them above price.

#### PALACE OF ISPAHAN.

The *Chehel Setoon*, or Palace of Forty Pillars, was the favourite residence of the latter Sefi kings; and certainly, when we turned into the grand avenue, and the palace broke upon us, I thought description was put to silence. Indeed, words can seldom give any thing like a just idea of the very intricate objects of sight; but, for the satisfaction of my readers, curious in comparing the taste of times and countries, I shall attempt some detail of this Persian Versailles. The exhaustless profusion of its splendid material, reflected, not merely their own golden or crystal lights on each other, but all the variegated colours of the garden; so that the whole surface seemed formed of polished silver and mother-of-pearl, set with precious stones. In short, as I said before, the scene might well have appeared in an Eastern poet's dream, or some magic vision, in the wonderful tales of an *Arabian night*.

When we drew near, I found the entire front of the building open to the garden; the roof being sustained by a double range of columns, the height of which measured eleven Persian yards, (a Persian yard being forty-four inches) hence they rose upwards of forty feet.

Each column shoots up from the united backs of four lions, of white marble: and the shafts of the columns rising from these extraordinary bases, were covered with the arabesque patterns, and foliages, in looking-glass, gilding and painting; some twisting spirally; others winding in golden wreaths, or running into lozenges, stars, connecting circles, and I know not what intricacies of fancy and ingenious workmanship. The ceiling was equally iris-hued, with flowers, fruits, birds, butterflies, and even couching tigers, in gold, silver, and painting, amidst hundreds of intermingling compartments of glittering mirror. At some distance, within this open chamber, are two more pillars of similar taste to the range; and from their capital springs a spacious arch, forming the entrance to a vast interior saloon; in which all the caprices and labours and cost of Eastern magnificence, have been lavished to an incredible prodigality. The pillars, the walls, the ceiling, might be a study for ages, for designers in these gorgeous labyrinthine ornaments. The floors of both apartments were covered with the richest carpets, of the era in which the building was constructed, the age of Shah Abbas, and were as fresh as if just laid down; there needs no other proof of the purity of the climate. From one angle of the interior chamber, two low folding-doors opened into a very spacious and lofty hall, the sides of which were hung with pictures of various dimensions, most of them descriptive of convivial scenes; and the doors, and pannels of the room near the floor, being also emblazoned with the same merry-making subjects, fully declared the purpose of the place. But a very odd addition was made to the ornaments of the wall. Little recesses spotted its lower range, taking the shapes of bottles, flaggons, goblets, and other useful vessels, all equally indispensable, in those days, at a Persian feast. Very different from the temperance which now presides there; and how directly the reverse of the abstemiousness and its effects, that marked the board of the great Cyrus!

Six pictures of a very large size, occupy the walls of this banquetting-chamber, from the ceiling to within eight or ten feet of the floor. Four of these represent royal entertainments, given to different ambassadors during the reigns of Shah Abbas the First, *alias* the Great; of his grandson, Abbas the



the Second; and of Shah Thamas, or Tamasp, as it is sometimes written. The two other pictures are battle-pieces. Every one of these different subjects are portrayed with the most scrupulous exactness, as far as the still life could be copied. The golden vases, and other vessels in the banquetting-scenes, with the musical-instruments, and every detail in the dresses of the persons present, are painted with an almost Flemish precision. Wine (the peculiar bane of the Sefi race) appears the great vehicle of enjoyment at these feasts; an air of carouse being in all the figures, and the goblets disposed with the most anacreontic profusion. The guests are also entertained with a variety of dancing-girls, whose attitude and costumes sufficiently show the second vice of the times, and explain the countries whence they come.

The warlike pictures are defined with equal nicety; the trappings of the horses, the arms of the heroes, and even to the blood-red wounds of the combatants. One of the battles represents the troops of the valiant Shah Tamasp the First (the son of Shah Ismail, the beginner of the Sefi dynasty) engaging the troops of the Sultan Soliman. The Persian king is depicted in the act of cleaving a grim Janissary 'from head to saddle-bow;' and the weapon having nearly reached the last point of its aim, the artist has marked its dreadful journey down the body of the man, with a long red streak, following the royal blade. But, nevertheless, the indivisible Turk continued to sit bolt upright, firm in his stirrups, and as life-like in visage, as the most conquering hero in the piece.

Ridiculous as the execution of these pictures may be in some respects, they are invaluable as registers of the manners of the times, of the general aspect of the persons they are designed to commemorate, and of the costumes of the several nations assembled at the feasts, or engaged in the battles. Large turbans, full mustachios, and smooth-shaven chins, were then the fashion in Persia; which has now given place to the high, narrow, black cap of sheep-skin, and the long bushy beard: the latter appendage having been a costume of the empire many centuries before.

The sixth large picture is of more modern date, and a very sorry specimen of the art indeed.

## TEN YEARS' EXILE;

OR,

### MEMOIRS

OF THAT

*Interesting Period of the Life*

OF THE

BARONESS DE STAËL HOLSTEIN,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF,

DURING THE

*Years 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813,*

And now first published from the original Manuscript,

BY HER SON.

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[This production consists of fragments of Memoirs, which M. de Staël had intended to complete at her leisure, and which would probably have undergone alterations, if a longer life had been allowed her to revise and finish them. The narrative begins in 1800, two years previous to her first exile, and stops at 1804, after the death of M. Necker. It recommences in 1810, and breaks off abruptly at her arrival in Sweden, in the autumn of 1812. Many of the circumstances, though trifling, are too curious to be neglected, at the same time M. de Staël was an intriguing politician and wrote as a partizan with womanish feeling.]

#### CAUSES OF BONAPARTE'S ANIMOSITY AGAINST ME.

THE Emperor Napoleon, whose character exhibits itself entire in every action of his life, has persecuted me with a minute anxiety, with an ever-increasing activity, with an inflexible rudeness; and my connections with him contributed to make him known to me, long before Europe had discovered the key of the enigma.

Shortly after the 18th Brumaire, Bonaparte had heard that I had been speaking strongly in my own parties, against that dawning oppression, whose progress I foresaw as clearly as if the future had been revealed to me. Joseph Bonaparte, whose understanding and conversation I liked very much, came to see me, and told me, "My brother complains of you. Why, said he to me yesterday, why does not Madame de Staël attach herself to my government? what is it she wants? the payment of the deposit of her father? I will give orders for it: a residence in Paris? I will allow it her. In short, what



what is it she wishes?" "Good God!" replied I, "it is not what I wish, but what I think, that is in question." I know not if this answer was reported to him, but if it was, I am certain that he attached no meaning to it; for he believes in the sincerity of no one's opinions; he considers every kind of morality as nothing more than a form, to which no more meaning is attached than to the conclusion of a letter; and as the having assured any one that you are his most humble servant would not entitle him to ask any thing of you, so if any one says that he is a lover of liberty,—that he believes in God,—that he prefers his conscience to his interest, Bonaparte considers such professions only as an adherence to custom, or as the regular means of forwarding ambitious views or selfish calculations.

HER COTERIES.

On the eve of the day when Benjamin Constant was to deliver a speech in opposition to Bonaparte's government, I had a party, among whom were Lucien Bonaparte, MM. \*\*\* , \*\*\* , \*\*\* , and several others, whose conversation in different degrees possesses that constant novelty of interest which is produced by the strength of ideas and the grace of expression. Every one of these persons, with the exception of Lucien, tired of being proscribed by the directory, was preparing to serve the new government, requiring only to be well rewarded for their devotion to its power. Benjamin Constant came up and whispered to me, "Your drawing-room is now filled with persons with whom you are pleased: if I speak, to-morrow it will be deserted:—think well of it." "We must follow our conviction," said I to him. This reply was dictated by enthusiasm; but, I confess, if I had foreseen what I have suffered since that day, I should not have had the firmness to refuse M. Constant's offer of renouncing his project, in order not to compromise me.

On the day when the signal of opposition was exhibited in the tribunate by my friend, I had invited several persons whose society I was fond of, but all of whom were attached to the new government. At five o'clock I had received ten notes of apology: the first and second I bore tolerably well, but as they succeeded each other rapidly, I began to be alarmed. In vain did I appeal to my conscience, which advised me to renounce all the pleasures attached to the favour of Bonaparte: I

was blamed by so many honorable people, that I knew not how to support myself on my own way of thinking.

CONVERSATION OF MY FATHER WITH BONAPARTE.

Bonaparte set out in the spring of 1800, to make the campaign of Italy, which was distinguished by the battle of Marengo. He went by Geneva, and as he expressed a desire to see M. Necker, my father waited upon him, more with the hope of serving me, than from any other motive. Bonaparte received him extremely well, and talked to him of his plans of the moment, with that sort of confidence which is in his character, or rather in his calculation; for it is thus we must always style his character. My father, at first seeing him, experienced nothing of the impression which I did; he felt no restraint in his presence, and found nothing extraordinary in his conversation. I have endeavoured to account to myself for this difference in our opinions of the same person; and, I believe, that it arose, first, because the simple and unaffected dignity of my father's manners ensured him the respect of all who conversed with him; and second, because the kind of superiority attached to Bonaparte proceeding more from ability in evil action, than from the elevation of good thoughts, his conversation cannot make us conceive what distinguishes him; he neither could nor would explain his own Machiavelian instinct.

My father uttered not a word to him of his two millions deposited in the public treasury; he did not wish to appear interested but for me, and said to him, among other things, that as the first consul loved to surround himself with illustrious names, he ought to feel equal pleasure in encouraging persons of celebrated talent, as the ornament of his power. Bonaparte replied to him very obligingly, and the result of this conversation ensured me, at least for some time longer, a residence in France. This was the last occasion when my father's protecting hand was extended over my existence; he has not been a witness of the cruel persecution I have since endured, and which would have irritated him even more than myself.

I arrived in Switzerland to pass the summer according to custom with my father, nearly about the same time when the French army was crossing the Alps. Large bodies of troops were seen continually passing through these



peaceful countries, which the majestic boundary of the Alps ought to shelter from political storms. In these beautiful summer evenings, on the borders of the lake of Geneva, I was almost ashamed, in the presence of that beautiful sky and pure water, of the inquietude I felt respecting the affairs of this world: but it was impossible for me to overcome my internal agitation: *I could not help wishing that Bonaparte might be beaten*, as that seemed the only means of stopping the progress of his tyranny. I durst not, however, avow this wish, and the prefect of the Leman, M. Eymar (an old deputy to the Constituent Assembly,) recollecting the period when we cherished together the hope of liberty, was continually sending me couriers to inform me of the progress of the French in Italy. It would have been difficult for me to make M. Eymar (who was in other respects a most interesting character,) comprehend that the happiness of France required that her army should then meet with reverses, and I received the supposed good news which he sent me, with a degree of restraint which was very little in unison with my character.

#### TOUSSAINT-LOUVERTURE.

It was at this period that Bonaparte sent General Leclerc to Saint Domingo, and designated him in his decree *our* brother-in-law. This first royal *we*, which associated the French with the prosperity of this family, was a most bitter pill to me. He obliged his beautiful sister to accompany her husband to Saint Domingo, where her health was completely ruined; a singular act of despotism for a man who is not accustomed to great severity of principles in those about his person; but he makes use of morality only to harass some and dazzle others. A peace was in the sequel concluded with the chief of the negroes, Toussaint-Louverture. This man was, no doubt, a great criminal, but Bonaparte had signed conditions with him, in complete violation of which Toussaint was conducted to the prison of Joux, in France, where he ended his days in the most miserable manner.

#### HER BANISHMENT.

Madame Recamier, so celebrated for her beauty, and whose character is even expressed in her beauty, proposed to me to come and live at her country seat at St. Brice, at two leagues from Paris. I accepted her offer, for I had no idea that I could thereby injure a person so

much a stranger to political affairs; I believed her protected against every thing, notwithstanding the generosity of her character. I found collected there a most delightful society, and there I enjoyed for the last time, all that I was about to quit. It was during this stormy period of my existence, that I received the speech of Mr. Mackintosh; there I read those pages, where he gives us the portrait of a jacobin, who had made himself an object of terror during the revolution to children, women and old men, and who is now bending himself double under the rod of the Corsican, who ravishes from him, even to the last atom of that liberty, for which he pretended to have taken arms. This *morceau* of the finest eloquence touched me to my very soul; it is the privilege of superior writers sometimes, unwittingly, to solace the unfortunate in all countries, and all times. France was in a state of such complete silence around me, that this voice, which suddenly responded to my soul, seemed to me to come down from heaven; it came from a land of liberty. After having passed a few days with Madame Recamier, without hearing my banishment at all spoken of, I persuaded myself that Bonaparte had renounced it. Nothing is more common than to tranquillize ourselves against a threatened danger, when we see no symptoms of it around us. I felt so little disposition to enter into any hostile plan or action against this man, that I thought it impossible for him not to leave me in peace; and after some days longer, I returned to my own country seat, satisfied that he had adjourned his resolution against me, and was contented with having frightened me. In truth I had been sufficiently so, not to make me change my opinion, or oblige me to deny it, but to repress completely that remnant of republican habit which had led me the year before, to speak with too much openness.

I was at table with three of my friends, in a room which commanded a view of the high road, and the entrance gate; it was now the end of September. At four o'clock, a man in a brown coat, on horseback, stops at the gate and rings: I was then certain of my fate. He asked for me, and I went to receive him in the garden. In walking towards him, the perfume of the flowers, and the beauty of the sun particularly struck me. How different are the sensations which affect



us from the combinations of society, from those of nature! This man informed me, that he was the commandant of the gendarmerie of Versailles, but that his orders were to go out of uniform, that he might not alarm me; he shewed me a letter signed by Bonaparte, which contained the order to banish me to forty leagues distance from Paris, with an injunction to make me depart within four and twenty hours; at the same time, to treat me with all the respect due to a lady of distinction. He pretended to consider me as a foreigner, and as such, subject to the police; this respect for individual liberty did not last long, as very soon afterwards, other Frenchmen and Frenchwomen were banished without any form of trial. I told the gendarme officer, that to depart within twenty-four hours, might be convenient to conscripts, but not to a woman and children, and in consequence, I proposed to him to accompany me to Paris, where I had occasion to pass three days to make the necessary arrangements for my journey. I got into my carriage with my children and this officer, who had been selected for this occasion, as the most literary of the gendarmes. In truth, he began complimenting me upon my writings. "You see," said I to him, "the consequences of being a woman of intellect, and I would recommend you, if there is occasion, to dissuade any females of your family from attempting it." I endeavoured to keep up my spirits by boldness, but I felt the barb in my heart.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

On the eve of the last day which was granted me, Joseph Bonaparte made one more effort in my favour; and his wife, who is a lady of the most perfect sweetness and simplicity, had the kindness to come and propose to me to pass a few days at her country seat at Morfontaine. I accepted her invitation most gratefully, for I could not but feel sensibly affected at the goodness of Joseph, who received me in his own house, at the very time I was the object of his brother's persecution. I passed three days there, and notwithstanding the perfect politeness of the master and mistress of the house, felt my situation very painfully. I saw only men connected with the government and breathed only the air of that authority which had declared itself my enemy; and yet the simplest rules of politeness and gratitude forbid me from shewing what

I felt. I had only my eldest son with me, who was then too young for me to converse with him on such subjects. I passed whole hours in examining the gardens of Morfontaine, among the finest that could be seen in France, and the possessor of which, then tranquil, appeared to me really an object of envy. He has been since exiled upon thrones, where I am sure he has often regretted his beautiful retreat.

Joseph sent me some excellent letters of recommendation for Berlin, and bid me adieu in a most noble and touching manner. I was obliged, therefore, to depart. Benjamin Constant was good enough to accompany me; but as he was also very fond of Paris, I felt extremely for the sacrifice he made me. Every step the horses advanced made me ill, and when the postillions boasted of having driven me quickly, I could not help sighing at the disagreeable service they were rendering me. In this way I travelled forty leagues without being able to regain my self-possession. At last we stopped at Chalons, and Benjamin Constant, rallying his spirits, relieved by his wonderful powers of conversation, at least for some moments, the weight which oppressed me. Next day we continued our route as far as Metz, where I wished to stop to wait for news from my father. There I passed fifteen days, and met one of the most amiable and intelligent men whom France and Germany combined could produce, M. Charles Villers. I was delighted with his society, but it renewed my regret for that first of pleasures, a conversation, in which there reigns the most perfect harmony in all that is felt with all that is expressed.

WEIMAR.

I arrived at Weimar, where I resumed my courage, on seeing, through the difficulties of the language, the immense intellectual riches which existed out of France. I learned to read German; I listened attentively to Goethe and Wieland, who, fortunately for me, spoke French extremely well. I comprehended the mind and genius of Schiller, in spite of the difficulty he felt in expressing himself in a foreign language. The society of the Duke and Duchess of Weimar pleased me exceedingly, and I passed three months there, during which the study of German literature gave all the occupation to my mind which it requires to prevent me from being devoured by my own feelings.



## BERLIN.

I left Weimar for Berlin, and there I saw that charming Queen, since destined to so many misfortunes. The King received me with great kindness, and I may say that during the six weeks I remained in that city, I never heard an individual who did not speak in praise of the justice of his government. This, however, does not prevent me from thinking it always desirable for a country to possess constitutional forms, to guarantee to it, by the permanent co-operation of the nation, the advantages it derives from the virtues of a good king. Prussia, under the reign of its present monarch, no doubt possessed the greater part of these advantages; but the public spirit which misfortune has developed in it did not then exist; the military regime had prevented public opinion from acquiring strength, and the absence of a constitution, in which every individual could make himself known by his merit, had left the state unprovided with men of talent, capable of defending it. The favour of the King being necessarily arbitrary, cannot be sufficient to excite emulation; circumstances which are peculiar to the interior of courts, may keep a man of great merit from the helm of affairs, or place there a very ordinary person. Routine, likewise, is singularly powerful in countries where the regal power has no one to contradict it; even the justice of a King leads him to place barriers around him, by keeping every one in his place; and it was almost without example in Prussia, to find a man deprived of his civil or military employments on account of incapacity.

## HER RESIDENCE IN LA VENDEE.

Being unable to remain longer in the castle of Chaumont, the proprietors of which had returned from America, I went and fixed myself at a farm called *Fossé*, which a generous friend lent me. The house was inhabited by a Vendean soldier, who certainly did not keep it in the nicest order, but who had a loyal good nature that made every thing easy, and an originality of character that was very amusing. Scarcely had we arrived when an Italian musician, whom I had with me to give lessons to my daughter, began playing upon the guitar; my daughter accompanied upon the harp the sweet voice of my beautiful friend Madame Recamier; the peasants collected round the windows, astonished to see this colony of troubadours, which

had come to enliven the solitude of their master. It was there I passed my last days in France, with some friends, whose recollection lives in my heart.

## HER GERMANY.

On the 23d of September, 1810, I corrected the last proof of *Germany*; after six years' labour, I felt the greatest delight in putting the word *End* to my three volumes. I made a list of one hundred persons to whom I wished to send copies, in different parts of France and Europe; I attached great importance to this book, which I thought well adapted to communicate new ideas to France; it appeared to me that a sentiment, elevated without being hostile, had inspired it, and that people would find in it a language which was no longer spoken.

Furnished with a letter from my publisher, which assured me that the censorship had authorised the publication of my work, I believed that I had nothing to apprehend, and set out with my friends for an estate of M. Mathieu de Montmorency, at five leagues from Blois. The house belonging to this estate is situated in the middle of a forest; there I walked about with the man whom I most respect in the world since I have lost my father. The fineness of the weather, the magnificence of the forest, the historical recollections which the place recalled, being the scene of the battle of Fretteval, fought between Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur-de-Lion, all contributed to fill my mind with the most quiet and delightful impressions. My worthy friend, who is only occupied in this world with rendering himself worthy of heaven, in this conversation, as in all those we have had together, paid no attention to affairs of the day, and only sought to do good to my soul. We resumed our journey the next day, and in these plains of the Vendomois, where you meet not with a single habitation, and which like the sea seems to present every where the same appearance, we contrived to lose ourselves completely. It was already midnight, and we knew not what road to take, in a country every where the same, and where fertility is as monotonous as sterility is elsewhere, when a young man on horseback, perceiving our embarrassment, came and requested us to pass the night in the chateau of his parents. We accepted his invitation, which was doing us a real service, and we found ourselves all of a sudden in the



the midst of the luxury of Asia, and the elegance of France. The masters of the house had spent a considerable time in India, and their chateau was adorned with every thing they had brought back from their travels. This residence excited my curiosity, and I found myself extremely comfortable in it. Next day M. de Montmorency gave me a note from my son, which pressed me to return home, as my work had met with fresh difficulties from the censorship. My friends who were with me in the chateau conjured me to go; I had not the least suspicion of what they were concealing from me, and thinking there was nothing but what Augustus's letter mentioned, I whiled away the time in examining the Indian curiosities, without any idea of what was in store for me. At last I got into the carriage, and my brave and intelligent Vendean, whom his own dangers had never moved, squeezed my hand, with tears in his eyes: I guessed immediately that they were making a mystery to me of some new persecution, and M. de Montmorency, in reply to my interrogations, at last acquainted me that the minister of the police had sent his myrmidons to destroy the ten thousand copies which had been printed of my book, and that I had received an order to quit France within three days. My children and friends had wished me not to hear this news while I was among strangers; but they had taken every possible precaution to prevent the seizure of my manuscript, and they succeeded in saving it, some hours before I was required to deliver it up.

I saw in the papers, that some American vessels had arrived in the ports of the channel, and I determined to make use of my passport for America, in the hope that it would be possible to touch at an English port. At all events I required some days to prepare for this voyage, and I was obliged to address myself to the minister of police to ask for this indulgence. It has been already seen that the custom of the French government is to order women, as well as soldiers, to depart within twenty-four hours. Here follows the minister's reply; it is curious to observe his style.

"GENERAL POLICE.

"MINISTERS CABINET.

Paris, 3d October, 1810.

"I have received the letter, madam, which you did me the honour to write to me. Your son will have informed you that

I saw no impropriety in your delaying your departure for seven or eight days: I hope they will be sufficient for the arrangements which you have yet to make, as I cannot grant you any more.

"You must not seek for the cause of the order which I have signified to you, in the silence which you have observed with regard to the Emperor in your last work; that would be a great mistake; he could find no place there which was worthy of him; but your exile is a natural consequence of the line of conduct you have constantly pursued for several years past. It has appeared to me that the air of this country did not at all agree with you, and we are not yet reduced to seek for models in the nations whom you admire.

"Your last work is not at all French; it is by my orders that the impression has been seized. I regret the loss, it will occasion the bookseller; but it is not possible for me to allow it to appear.

"You know, madam, that you would not have been permitted to quit Coppet but for the desire you had expressed to go to America. If my predecessor allowed you to reside in the department of Loir and Cher, you had no reason to look upon this license as any revocation of the arrangements which had been fixed with regard to you. At present you compel me to make them be strictly executed; for this you have no one to blame but yourself.

"I have signified to M. Corbigny to look to the punctual execution of the order I have given him, as soon as the term I grant you is expired.

"I regret extremely, madam, that you have forced me to begin my correspondence with you by an act of severity; it would have been much more agreeable to me to have only had to offer you the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be madam,

"Your most humble, and

"most obedient servant,

Signed

"The DUKE of ROVIGO.

P. S. I have reasons, madam, for mentioning to you that the ports of Lorient, La Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and Rochefort, are the only ones in which you can embark. I request you to let me know which of them you select.

#### FEMALE TRAPPIST.

We reached the convent in the midst of a severe shower, after having been obliged to come nearly a mile on foot. As we were flattering ourselves with being admitted, the *Procureur* of la Trappe, who has the direction of the female convent, told us that nobody could be received there. I tried, however, to ring the bell at the gate of the cloister; a nun appeared behind the latticed opening through which the portress may



may speak to strangers. "What do you want?" said she to me, in a voice without modulation, as we might suppose that of a ghost. "I should wish to see the interior of your convent."—"That is impossible."—"But I am very wet, and want to dry myself."—She immediately touched a spring which opened the door of an outer apartment, in which I was allowed to rest myself, but no living creature appeared. I had hardly been seated a few minutes, when becoming impatient at being unable to penetrate into the interior of the house, I rung again; the same person again appeared, and I asked her if no females were ever admitted into the convent; she answered that it was only in cases when any one had the intention of becoming a nun. "But," said I to her, "how can I know if I wish to remain in your house, if I am not permitted to examine it?"—"Oh, that is quite useless," replied she, "I am very sure that you have no vocation for our state," and with these words immediately shut her wicket. I know not by what signs this nun had satisfied herself of my worldly dispositions; it is possible that a quick manner of speaking, so different from theirs, is sufficient to make them distinguish travellers who are merely curious. The hour of vespers approaching, I could go into the church to hear the nuns sing; they were behind a black close grating, through which nothing could be seen. You only heard the noise of their wooden shoes, and of the wooden benches as they raised them to sit down. Their singing had nothing of sensibility in it, and I thought I could remark both by their manner of praying, and in the conversation which I had afterwards with the father Trappist, who directed them, that it was not religious enthusiasm, such as we conceive it, but severe and grave habits which could support such a kind of life. The tenderness of piety would even exhaust the strength; a sort of ruggedness of soul is necessary to so rude an existence.

The new Father Abbé of the Trappists, settled in the vallies of the Canton of Fribourg, has added to the austerities of the order. One can have no idea of the minute degrees of suffering imposed upon the monks; they go so far as even to forbid them, when they have been standing for some hours in succession, from leaning against the wall, or wiping the perspiration from

their forehead; in short every moment of their life is filled with suffering, as the people of the world fill theirs with enjoyment. They rarely live to be old, and those to whom this lot falls, regard it as a punishment from heaven. Such an establishment would be barbarous if any one was compelled to enter it, or if there was the least concealment of what they suffer there. But on the contrary, they distribute to whoever wishes to read it, a printed statement, in which the rigours of the order are rather exaggerated than softened; and yet there are novices who are willing to take the vows, and those who are received never run away, although they might do it without the least difficulty. The whole rests, as it appears to me, upon the powerful idea of death; the institutions and amusements of society are destined in the world to turn our thoughts entirely upon life: but when the contemplation of death gets a certain hold of the human heart, joined to a firm belief in the immortality of the soul, there are no bounds to the disgust which it may take to every thing which forms a subject of interest in the world; and a state of suffering appearing the road to a future life, such minds follow it with avidity, like the traveller, who willingly fatigues himself, in order to get sooner over the road which leads him to the object of his wishes. But what equally astonished and grieved me, was to see children brought up with this severity: their poor locks shaved off, their young countenances already furrowed, that deathly dress with which they were covered before they knew any thing of life, before they had voluntarily renounced it, all this made my soul revolt against the parents who had placed them there. When such a state is not the adoption of a free and determined choice on the part of the person who professes it, it inspires as much horror as it at first created respect. The monk with whom I conversed, spoke of nothing but death; all his ideas came from that subject, or connected themselves with it; death is the sovereign monarch of this residence. As we talked of the temptations of the world, I expressed to the father Trappist my admiration of his conduct in thus sacrificing all, to withdraw himself from their influence. "We are cowards," said he to me, "who have retired into a fortress, because we feel we want the courage



courage to meet our enemy in the open field." This reply was equally modest and ingenious.

THE TYROL.

The aspect of the Tyrol reminds one of Switzerland; there is not, however so much vigour and originality in the landscape, nor have the villages the same appearance of plenty; it is in short a fine country, which has been wisely governed, but never been free; and it is only as a mountaineer people, that it has shown itself capable of resistance. Very few instances of remarkable men can be mentioned from the Tyrol; first, the Austrian government is scarcely fit to develop genius; and, besides, the Tyrol, by its manners as well as by its geographical position, should have formed a part of the Swiss confederation: its incorporation with the Austrian monarchy not being conformable to its nature, it has only developed by that union the noble qualities of mountaineers, courage and fidelity.

The postillion who drove us showed us a rock on which the emperor Maximilian, grandfather of Charles the Vth. had nearly perished, the ardour of the chase had stimulated him to such a degree, that he had followed the chamois to heights from which it was impossible to descend. This tradition is still popular in the country, so necessary to nations is the admiration of the past. The memory of the last war was still quite alive in the bosoms of the people; the peasants showed us the summits of mountains on which they had entrenched themselves: their imagination delighted in retracing the effect of their fine war-like music, when it echoed from the tops of the hills into the vallies. When we were shown the palace of the prince-royal of Bavaria, at Inspruck, they told us that Hofer, the courageous peasant and head of the insurrection, had lived there; they gave us an instance of the intrepidity of a female, when the French entered into her chateau: in short, every thing displayed in them the desire of being a nation, much more than personal attachment to the house of Austria.

In one of the churches at Inspruck is the famous tomb of Maximilian. I went to see it, flattering myself with the certainty of not being recognized by any person, in a place remote from the capitals where the French agents reside.

The figure of Maximilian in bronze, is kneeling upon a sarcophagus, in the

body of the church, and thirty statues of the same metal ranged on each side of the sanctuary represent the relations and ancestors of the emperor. So much past grandeur, so much of the ambition formidable in its day, collected in a family meeting round a tomb, formed a spectacle which led one to profound reflection: there you saw Philip the Good, Charles the Rash, and Mary of Burgundy; and in the midst of these historical personages Dietrich of Berne, a fabulous hero; the closed visor concealed the countenances of the knights, but when this visor was lifted up a brazen countenance appeared under a helmet of brass, and the features of the knight were of bronze, like his armour. The visor of Dietrich of Berne is the only one which cannot be lifted up, the artist meaning in that manner to signify the mysterious veil which covers the history of this warrior.

We walked about the town of Salzburg, which contains many noble edifices, but like the greater part of the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany, now presents a most dreary aspect. The tranquil resources of that kind of government have terminated with it. The convents also were preservers; one is struck with the number of establishments and edifices which have been erected by bachelor masters in their residence: all these peaceable sovereigns have benefited their people.

RESIDENCE IN VIENNA.

I arrived at Vienna on the 6th of June very fortunately just two hours before the departure of a courier whom Count Stackelberg, the Russian ambassador, was dispatching to Wilna, where the emperor Alexander then was.

The court was then at Dresden, at the great meeting of all the German princes, who came to present their homage to the emperor of France. Napoleon had stopped at Dresden under the pretext of still negotiating there to avoid the war with Russia, in other words, to obtain by his policy the same result as he could by his arms. He would not at first admit the King of Prussia to his banquet at Dresden; he knew too well what repugnance the heart of that unfortunate monarch must have to what he conceives himself obliged to do. It is said that M. de Metternich obtained this humiliating favor for him. M. de Hardenberg, who accompanied him, made the remark to the Emperor Napoleon, that Prussia had paid one third more than the



the promised contributions. The emperor turning his back to him, replied: "An apothecary's bill,"—for he has a secret pleasure in making use of vulgar expressions, the more to humble those who are the objects of it. He assumed a sufficient degree of coquetry in his way of living with the Emperor and Empress of Austria, as it was of importance to him that the Austrian government should take an active part in his war with Russia. In a conversation with M. de Metternich, I have been assured that he said, "You see very well that I can never have the least interest in diminishing the power of Austria, as it now exists; for, first of all, it suits me that my father-in-law should be a prince of great consideration; besides, I have more confidence in the old than in the new dynasties. Has not General Bernadotte already taken the side of making peace with England?" And in fact, the Prince-Royal of Sweden, as will be seen in the sequel, had courageously declared himself for the interests of the country which he governed.

#### POLAND.

The Poles love their country as an unfortunate friend: the country is dull and monotonous, the people ignorant and lazy; they have always wished for liberty; they have never known how to acquire it. But the Poles think that they can and may govern Poland, and the feeling is very natural. The education however of the people is so much neglected, and all kind of industry so foreign to them, that the Jews have possessed themselves of the entire trade, and make the peasants sell them for a quantity of brandy the whole harvest of the approaching year. The distance between the nobility and the peasantry is so immense, the contrast between the luxury of the one, and the frightful misery of the other, is so shocking, that it is probable the Austrians have given them better laws than those which previously existed. But a proud people, and the Poles are so even in their misery, does not wish to be humbled, even when they are benefited, and in that point the Austrians have never failed. They have divided Galicia into circles, each of which is commanded by a German functionary; sometimes a person of distinction accepts this employment, but it is much more frequently a kind of brute, taken from the subaltern ranks, and who in virtue of his office commands in the

most despotic manner the greatest noblemen of Poland. The police, which in the present times has replaced the secret tribunal, authorizes the most oppressive measures. Now let us only imagine what the police can be, namely, the most subtle and arbitrary power in the government, entrusted to the rude hands of the captain of a circle. At every post-house in Galicia there are to be seen three descriptions of persons who gather round travellers' carriages: the Jew traders, the Polish beggars, and the German spies. The country appears exclusively inhabited by these three classes of men. The beggars, with their long beards, and ancient Sarmatian costume, excite deep commiseration; it is very true that if they would work they need not be in that state; but I know not whether it is pride or laziness which makes them disdain the culture of the enslaved earth.

You meet upon the high roads processions of men and women carrying the standard of the cross, and singing psalms; a profound expression of melancholy reigns upon their countenances: I have seen them, when not money, but food of a better sort than they had been accustomed to was given them, turn up their eyes to heaven with astonishment, as if they considered themselves unfit to enjoy its bounty. The custom of the common people in Poland is to embrace the knees of the nobility when they meet them; you cannot stir a step in a village without having the women, children, and old men saluting you in this manner. In the midst of this spectacle of wretchedness you might see some men in shabby attire, who were spies upon misery: for that was the only object which could offer itself to their eyes. The captains of the circles refused passports to the Polish noblemen, for fear they should see one another, or lest they should go to Warsaw. They obliged these noblemen to appear before them every eight days, in order to certify their presence. The Austrians thus proclaimed in all manner of ways that they knew they were detested in Poland, and they separated their troops into two equal divisions: the first entrusted with supporting *externally* the interests of Poland, and the second employed in the *interior* to prevent the Poles from aiding the same cause. I do not believe that any country was ever more wretchedly governed than Galicia



Gallicia was at that time, at least under political considerations; and it was apparently to conceal this spectacle from general observation that so many difficulties were made in allowing a stranger to reside in, or even to pass through the country.

**VOLHYNIA.**

The first province we had to cross, Volhynia, forms a part of Russian Poland; it is a fertile country, over-run with Jews, like Gallicia, but much less miserable. I stopped at the chateau of a Polish nobleman to whom I had been recommended, who advised me to hasten my journey, as the French were marching upon Volhynia, and might easily enter it in eight days. The Poles in general, like the Russians much better than they do the Austrians; the Russians and Poles are both of Slavonian origin: they have been enemies, but respect each other mutually, while the Germans, who are farther advanced in European civilization than the Slavonians, have not learned to do them justice in other respects. It was easy to see that the Poles in Volhynia were not at all afraid of the entrance of the French; but although their opinions were known, they were not in the least subjected to that petty persecution which only excites hatred without restraining it. The spectacle, however, of one nation subjected by another, is always a painful one;—centuries must elapse before the union is sufficiently established to make the names of victor and vanquished be forgotten.

**KIOW.**

Determined to continue my journey through Russia, I proceeded towards Kiow, the principal city of the Ukraine, and formerly of all Russia, for this empire began by fixing its capital in the South. The Russians had then continual communication with the Greeks established at Constantinople, and in general with the people of the East, whose habits they have adopted in a variety of instances. The Ukraine is a very fertile country, but by no means agreeable; you see large plains of wheat which appear to be cultivated by invisible hands, the habitations and inhabitants are so rare. You must not expect, in approaching Kiow, or the greater part of what are called cities in Russia, to find any thing resembling the cities of the West; the roads are not better kept, nor do country houses indicate a more numerous population.

On my arrival at Kiow, the first object that met my eyes was a cemetery, and this was the first indication to me of being near a place where men were collected. The houses at Kiow generally resemble tents, and at a distance, the city appears like a camp; I could not help fancying that the moveable residences of the Tartars had furnished models for the construction of those wooden houses, which have not a much greater appearance of solidity. A few days are sufficient for building them; they are very often consumed by fire, and an order is sent to the forest for a house, as you would send to market to lay in your winter stock of provisions. In the middle of these huts, however, palaces have been erected, and a number of churches, whose green and gilt cupolas singularly draw the attention. When towards the evening the sun darts his rays on these brilliant domes, you would fancy that it was rather an illumination for a festival, than a durable edifice.

The Russians never pass a church without making the sign of the cross, and their long beards add greatly to the religious expression of their physiognomy. They generally wear a large blue robe, fastened round the waist by a scarlet band; the dresses of the women have also something Asiatic in them; and one remarks that taste for lively colours which we derive from the East, where the sun is so beautiful, that one likes to make his eclat more conspicuous by the objects which he shines upon. I speedily contracted such a partiality to these oriental dresses, that I could not bear to see Russians dressed like other Europeans, they seemed to me then entering into that great regularity of the despotism of Napoleon, which first makes all nations a present of the conscription, then of the war-taxes, and lastly, of the Code Napoleon, in order to govern in the same manner, nations of totally different characters.

The Dnieper, which the ancients called Borysthenes, passes by Kiow, and the old tradition of the country affirms, that it was a boat-man, who in crossing it found its waters so pure that he was led to found a town on its banks. In fact, the rivers are the most beautiful natural objects in Russia. It would be difficult to find any small streams, their course would be so much obstructed by the sand. There is scarcely any variety of trees; the melancholy birch



is incessantly recurring in this uninventive nature; even the want of stones might be almost regretted, so much is the eye sometimes fatigued with meeting neither hill nor valley, and to be always making progress without encountering new objects. The rivers relieve the imagination from this fatigue; the priests, therefore, bestow their benedictions on these rivers. The emperor, empress, and the whole court attend the ceremony of the benediction of the Neva, at the moment of the severest cold of winter. It is said that Wladimir, at the commencement of the eleventh century, declared, that all the waters of the Borysthenes were holy, and that plunging in them was sufficient to make a man a Christian; the baptism of the Greeks being performed by immersion, millions of men went into this river to abjure their idolatry. It was this same Wladimir who sent deputies to different countries, to learn which of all the religions it best suited him to adopt; he decided for the Greek ritual, on account of the pomp of its ceremonies. Perhaps also he preferred it for more important reasons; in fact the Greek faith by excluding the papal power, gives the sovereign of Russia the spiritual and temporal power united.

#### THE GREEK RELIGION.

The Greek religion is necessarily less intolerant than the Roman Catholic; for being itself reproached as a schism, it can hardly complain of heretics; all religions therefore are admitted into Russia, and from the borders of the Don to those of the Neva, the fraternity of country unites men, even though their theological opinions may separate them. The Greek priests are allowed to marry, and scarcely any gentleman embraces this profession: it follows that the clergy has very little political ascendancy; it acts upon the people, but it is very submissive to the emperor.

The ceremonies of the Greek worship are at least as beautiful as those of the catholics; the church music is heavenly; every thing in this worship leads to meditation; it has something of poetry and feeling about it, but it appears better adapted to captivate the imagination than to regulate the conduct. When the priest comes out of the sanctuary, in which he remains shut up while he communicates, you would say that you saw the gates of light opening; the cloud of incense

which surrounds him, the gold and silver, and precious stones, which glitter on his robes and in the church, seem to come from countries where the sun is an object of adoration. The devout sentiments which are inspired by gothic architecture in Germany, France, and England, cannot be at all compared with the effect of the Greek churches; they rather remind us of the minarets of the Turks and Arabs than of our churches. As little must we expect to find, as in Italy, the splendor of the fine arts; their most remarkable ornaments are virgins and saints crowned with rubies and diamonds. Magnificence is the character of every thing one sees in Russia; neither the genius of man nor the gifts of nature constitute its beauties.

The ceremonies of marriage, of baptism, and of burial, are noble and affecting; we find in them some ancient customs of Grecian idolatry, but only those which, having no connection with doctrine, can add to the impression of the three great scenes of life, birth, marriage, and death. The Russian peasants still continue the custom of addressing the dead previous to a final separation from his remains. Why is it, say they, that thou hast abandoned us? Wert thou then unhappy on this earth? Was not thy wife fair and good? Why therefore hast thou left her? The dead replies not, but the value of existence is thus proclaimed in the presence of those who still preserve it.

#### ROAD FROM KIW TO MOSCOW.

About nine hundred versts still separated Kiow from Moscow. My Russian coachman drove me along like lightning, singing airs, the words of which I was told were compliments and encouragements to their horses, "Go along," they said, "my friends: we know one another: go quick." I have as yet seen nothing at all barbarous in this people; on the contrary, their forms have an elegance and softness about them which you find no where else. Never does a Russian coachman pass a female, of whatever age or rank she may be, without saluting her, and the female returns it by an inclination of the head which is always noble and graceful. An old man who could not make himself understood by me, pointed to the earth, and then to the heaven, to signify to me, that the one would shortly be to him the road to the other. I know very well that the shocking barbarities



barbarities which disfigure the history of Russia may be urged, reasonably, as evidence of a contrary character; but these I should rather lay to the charge of the Boyars, the class which was depraved by the despotism which it exercised or submitted to, than to the nation itself.

Although I was driven along with great rapidity, it seemed to me that I did not advance a step, the country was so extremely monotonous. Plains of sand, forests of birch trees, and villages at a great distance from each other, composed of wooden houses all built upon the same plan: these were the only objects that my eyes encountered. I felt that sort of nightmare which sometimes seizes one during the night, when you think you are always marching and never advancing. The country appeared to me like the image of infinite space, and to require eternity to traverse it. Every instant you met couriers passing, who went along with incredible swiftness; they were seated on a wooden bench placed across a little cart drawn by two horses, and nothing stopped them for a moment. The jolting of their carriage sometimes made them spring two feet above it, but they fell with astonishing address, and made haste to call out in Russian, *forward*, with an energy similar to that of the French on a day of battle. The Slavonian language is singularly echoing; I should almost say there is something metallic about it; you would think you heard a bell striking, when the Russians pronounce certain letters of their alphabet, quite different from those which compose the dialects of the West.

#### THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE.

I reached at last that part of my road which removed me from the theatre of war, and arrived in the governments of Orel and Toulá, which have been so much talked of since, in the bulletins of the two armies. I was received in these solitary abodes, for so the provincial towns in Russia appear, with the most perfect hospitality. Several gentlemen of the neighbourhood came to my inn to compliment me on my writings, and I confess having been flattered to find that my literary reputation had extended to this distance from my native country. The lady of the governor received me in the Asiatic style, with sherbet and roses; her apartment was elegantly furnished with musical instruments and pictures. In Europe you see every

where the contrast of wealth and poverty; but in Russia it may be said that neither one nor the other makes itself remarked. The people are not poor; the great know how to lead, when it is necessary, the same life as the people: it is the mixture of the hardest privations and of the most refined enjoyments which characterizes the country. These same noblemen, whose residence unites all that the luxury of different parts of the world has most attractive, live, while they are travelling, on much worse food than our French peasantry, and know how to bear, not only during war, but in various circumstances of life, a physical existence of the most disagreeable kind. The severity of the climate, the marshes, the forests, the deserts, of which a great part of the country is composed, place man in a continual struggle with nature. Fruits, and even flowers, only grow in hot-houses; vegetables are not generally cultivated; and there are no vines any where. The habitual mode of life of the French peasants could not be obtained in Russia but at a very great expense. There they have only necessities by luxury: whence it happens that when luxury is unattainable, even necessities are renounced. What the English call *comforts* are hardly to be met with in Russia. You will never find any thing sufficiently perfect to satisfy in all ways the imagination of the great Russian noblemen; but when this poetry of wealth fails them, they drink hydromel, sleep upon a board, and travel day and night in an open carriage, without regretting the luxury to which one would think they had been habituated. It is rather as magnificence that they love fortune, than from the pleasures they derive from it: resembling still in that point the Easterns, who exercise hospitality to strangers, load them with presents, and yet frequently neglect the every-day comforts of their own life. This is one of the reasons which explains that noble courage with which the Russians have supported the ruin which has been occasioned them by the burning of Moscow. More accustomed to external pomp than to the care of themselves, they are not mollified by luxury, and the sacrifice of money satisfies their pride as much or more than the magnificence of their expenditure. What characterizes this people, is something gigantic of all kinds: ordinary dimensions



sions are not at all applicable to it. I do not by that mean to say that neither real grandeur or stability are to be met with in it: but the boldness and the imagination of the Russians know no bounds: with them every thing is colossal rather than well proportioned, audacious rather than reflective, and if they do not hit the mark it is because they overshoot it.

I was always advancing nearer to Moscow, but nothing yet indicated the approach to a capital. The wooden villages were equally distant from each other, we saw no greater movement upon the immense plains which are called high roads; you heard no more noise; the country houses were not more numerous: there is so much space in Russia that every thing is lost in it, even the chateaux, even the population. You might suppose you were travelling through a country from which the people had just taken their departure. The absence of birds adds to this silence; cattle also are rare, or at least they are placed at a great distance from the road. Extent makes every thing disappear, except extent itself, like certain ideas in metaphysics, of which the mind can never get rid, when it has once seized them.

The manner of the Russians is so obliging, that you might imagine yourself, the very first day, intimate with them, and probably at the end of ten years you would not be so. The silence of a Russian is altogether extraordinary; this silence is solely occasioned by what he takes a deep interest in. In other respects they talk as much as you will; but their conversation teaches you nothing but their politeness; it betrays neither their feelings nor opinions. They have been frequently compared to the French, in my opinion with the least justice in the world. The flexibility of their organs makes imitation in all things a matter of ease to them; they are English, French, or German in their manners, according to circumstances; but they never cease to be Russians, that is to say uniting impetuosity and reserve, more capable of passion than friendship, more bold than delicate, more devout than virtuous, more brave than chivalrous, and so violent in their desires that nothing can stop them, when their gratification is in question. They are much more hospitable than the French; but society does not with them, as with us, consist of a circle of clever people of

both sexes, who take pleasure in talking together. They meet, as we go to a fête, to see a great deal of company, to have fruits and rare productions from Asia or Europe; to hear music, to play; in short to receive vivid emotions from external objects, rather than from the heart or understanding, both of which they reserve for actions and not for company. Besides, as they are in general very ignorant, they find very little pleasure in serious conversation, and do not at all pique themselves on shining by the wit they can exhibit in it. Poetry, eloquence, and literature, are not yet to be found in Russia; luxury, power, and courage, are the principal objects of pride and ambition, all other methods of acquiring distinction appear as yet effeminate and vain to this nation.

But the people are slaves, it will be said: what character therefore can they be supposed to have? It is not certainly necessary for me to say that all enlightened people wish to see the Russian people freed from this state, and probably no one wishes it more strongly than the Emperor Alexander: but the Russian slavery has no resemblance in its effects to that of which we form the idea in the West; it is not as under the feudal system, victors who have imposed severe laws on the vanquished; the ties which connect the grandees with the people resemble rather what was called a family of slaves among the ancients, than the state of serfs among the moderns. There is no middling class in Russia, which is a great drawback on the progress of literature and the arts; for it is generally in that class that knowledge is developed: but the want of any intermedium between the nobility and the people creates a greater affection between them both. The distance between the two classes appears greater, because there are no steps between these two extremities, which in fact border very nearly on each other, not being separated by a middling class. This is a state of social organization quite unfavourable to the knowledge of the higher classes, but not so to the happiness of the lower. Besides, where there is no representative government, that is to say, in countries where the sovereign still promulgates the law which he is to execute, men are frequently more degraded by the very sacrifice of their reason and character, than they are in this vast empire, in which a few simple



simple ideas of religion and country serve to lead the great mass under the guidance of a few heads. The immense extent of the Russian empire also prevents the despotism of the great from pressing heavily in detail upon the people: and finally, above all, the religious and military spirit is so predominant in the nation, that allowance may be made for a great many errors, in favour of those two great sources of noble actions.

#### MOSCOW.

Gilded cupolas announced Moscow from afar; however, as the surrounding country is only a plain, as well as the whole of Russia, you may arrive in that great city without being struck with its extent. It has been well said by some one, that Moscow was rather a province than a city. In fact, you there see huts, houses, palaces, a bazar as in the East, churches, public buildings, pieces of water, woods, and parks. The variety of manners, and of the nations of which Russia is composed, are all exhibited in this immense residence. Will you, I was asked, buy some Cashmere shawls in the Tartar quarter? Have you seen the Chinese town? Asia and Europe are found united in this immense city. There is more liberty enjoyed in it than at Petersburg, where the court necessarily exercises great influence. The great nobility settled at Moscow were not ambitious of places; but they proved their patriotism by munificent gifts to the state, either for public establishments during peace, or as aids during the war. The colossal fortunes of the great Russian nobility are employed in making collections of all kinds, and in enterprises of which the Arabian Nights have given the models; these fortunes are also frequently lost by the unbridled passions of their possessors.

When I arrived at Moscow, nothing was talked of but the sacrifices that were made on account of the war. A young Count de Momonoff raised a regiment for the state, and would only serve in it as a sub-lieutenant; a Countess Orloff, amiable and wealthy in the Asiatic style, gave the fourth of her income. As I was passing before these palaces surrounded by gardens, where space was thrown away in a city as elsewhere in the middle of the country, I was told that the possessor of this superb residence had given a thousand peasants to the state: and of that, two hundred. I had some difficulty in ac-

commodating myself to the expression, *giving men*, but the peasants themselves offered their services with ardour, and their lords were in this war only their interpreters.

As soon as a Russian becomes a soldier, his beard is cut off, and from that moment he is free. A desire was felt that all those who might have served in the militia should also be considered as free: but in that case the nation would have been entirely so, for it rose almost *en masse*. Let us hope that this so much-desired emancipation may be effected without violence: but in the mean time one would wish to have the beards preserved, so much strength and dignity do they add to the physiognomy. The Russians with long beards never pass a church without making the sign of the cross, and their confidence in the visible images of religion is very affecting. Their churches bear the mark of that taste for luxury which they have from Asia: you see in them only ornaments of gold, and silver, and rubies. I was told that a Russian had proposed to form an alphabet with precious stones, and to write a Bible in that manner. He knew the best manner of interesting the imaginations of the Russians in what they read. This imagination, however, has not as yet manifested itself either in the fine arts or in poetry. They reach a certain point in all things very quickly, and do not go beyond that. Impulse makes them take the first steps; but the second belong to reflection, and these Russians, who have nothing in common with the people of the North, are as yet very little capable of meditation.

Several of the palaces of Moscow are of wood, in order that they may be built quicker, and that the natural inconstancy of the nation, in every thing unconnected with country or religion, may be satisfied by an easy change of residence. Several of these fine edifices have been constructed for an entertainment; they were destined to add to the eclat of a day, and the rich manner in which they were decorated, has made them last up to this period of universal destruction. A great number of houses are painted green, yellow, or rose colour, and are sculptured in detail like dessert ornaments.

#### THE KREMLIN.

The citadel of the Kremlin, in which the Emperors of Russia defended themselves against the Tartars, is surrounded by a high wall, embattled and flanked with



with turrets, which, by their odd shapes, remind one of a Turkish minaret rather than a fortress like those of the West of Europe. But although the external character of the buildings of the city be oriental, the impression of Christianity was found in that multitude of churches so much venerated, and which attracted your notice at every step. One was reminded of Rome in seeing Moscow; certainly not from the monuments being of the same style, but because the mixture of solitary country and magnificent palaces, the grandeur of the city and the infinite number of its churches give the Asiatic Rome some points of resemblance to the European Rome.

It was about the beginning of August, that I was allowed to see the interior of the Kremlin; I got there by the same staircase which the Emperor Alexander had ascended a few days preceding, surrounded by an immense people, who loaded him with their blessings, and promised him to defend his empire at all hazards. This people has kept its word. The halls were first thrown open to me in which the arms of the ancient warriors of Russia are contained; the arsenals of this kind, in other parts of Europe, are much more interesting. The Russians have taken no part in the times of chivalry; they never mingled in the Crusades. Constantly at war with the Tartars, Poles, and Turks, the military spirit has been formed among them in the midst of the atrocities of all kinds brought in the train of Asiatic nations, and of the tyrants who governed Russia. It is not therefore the generous bravery of the Bayards or of the Percys, but the intrepidity of a fanatical courage which has been exhibited in this country for several centuries. The Russians, in the relations of society, which are so new to them, are not distinguished by the spirit of chivalry, such as the people of the West conceive it; but they have always shown themselves terrible to their enemies. So many massacres have taken place in the interior of Russia, up to the reign of Peter the Great, and even later, that the morality of the nation, and particularly that of the great nobility, must have suffered severely from them. These despotic governments, whose sole restraint is the assassination of the despot, overthrow all principles of honour and duty in the minds of men: but the love of

their country and an attachment to their religious creed have been maintained in their full strength, amidst the wrecks of this bloody history, and the nation which preserves such virtues may yet astonish the world.

From the ancient arsenal I was conducted into the apartments formerly occupied by the czars, and in which the robes are preserved which they wore on the day of their coronation. These apartments have no sort of beauty, but they agreed very well with the hard life which the czars led and still lead. The greatest magnificence reigns in the palace of Alexander; but he himself sleeps on the floor, and travels like a Cossack officer.

#### TRADE OF MOSCOW.

The commercial establishments at Moscow had quite an Asiatic character; men in turbans, and others dressed in the different costumes of all the people of the East, exhibited the rarest merchandize: the furs of Siberia and the muslins of India there offered all the enjoyments of luxury to those great noblemen whose imagination is equally pleased with the sables of the Samoièdes and with the rubies of the Persians.

#### FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

Farther on was the Foundling House, one of the most affecting institutions of Europe; hospitals for all classes of society might be remarked in the different quarters of the city: finally, the eye in its wanderings could rest upon nothing but wealth or benevolence, upon edifices of luxury or of charity; upon churches or on palaces, which diffused happiness or distinction upon a large portion of the human race. You saw the windings of the Moskwa, of that river, which, since the last invasion by the Tartars, had never rolled with blood in its waves: the day was delightful, the sun seemed to take a pleasure in shedding his rays upon these glittering cupolas. I was reminded of the old Archbishop Plato, who had just written a pastoral letter to the Emperor Alexander, the oriental style of which had extremely affected me; he sent the image of the Virgin from the borders of Europe, to drive far from Asia the man who wished to bear down upon the Russians with the whole weight of the nations chained to his steps.—For a moment the thought struck me that Napoleon might yet set his foot upon this same tower from which I was admiring the city, which



his presence was about to extinguish; for a moment I dreamed that he would glory in replacing, in the palace of the czars, the chief of the great horde, which had also once had possession of it; but the sky was so beautiful, that I repelled the apprehension.

#### ROSTOPCHIN.

The famous Count Rostopchin, with whose name the Emperor's bulletins have been filled, came to see me, and invited me to dine with him. He had been minister for foreign affairs to Paul I., his conversation had something original about it, and you could easily perceive that his character would show itself in a very strong manner, if circumstances required it. The Countess Rostopchin was good enough to give me a book which she had written on the triumphs of religion, the style and morality of which were very pure. I went to visit her at her country-house, in the interior of Moscow; I was obliged to cross a lake and a wood in order to reach it: it was to this house, one of the most agreeable residences in Russia, that Count Rostopchin himself set fire, on the approach of the French army. Certainly an action of this kind was likely to excite a certain kind of admiration, even in enemies. The Emperor Napoleon has, notwithstanding, compared Count Rostopchin to Marat, forgetting that the governor of Moscow sacrificed his own interests, while Marat set fire to the houses of others, which certainly makes a considerable difference. The only thing which Count Rostopchin could properly be reproached with, was his concealing too long the bad news from the armies, either from flattering himself, or believing it to be necessary to flatter others.

#### STATE OF LEARNING.

I saw at Moscow the most enlightened men in the career of science and literature: but there, as well as at Petersburg, the professors' chairs are almost entirely filled with Germans. There is in Russia a great scarcity of well-informed men in any branch; young people in general only go to the University to be enabled sooner to enter into the military profession. Civil employments in Russia confer a rank corresponding to a grade in the army; the spirit of the nation is turned entirely towards war; in every thing else, in administration, in political economy, in public instruction, &c. the other nations of Europe have

hitherto borne away the palm from the Russians. They are making attempts, however, in literature; the softness and brilliancy of the sounds of their language are remarked even by those who do not understand it; and it should be very well adapted for poetry and music. But the Russians have, like so many other continental nations, the fault of imitating the French literature, which, even with all its beauties, is only fit for the French themselves. I think that the Russians ought rather to make their literary studies derive from the Greeks than from the Latins. The characters of the Russian alphabet, so similar to those of the Greeks, the ancient communication of the Russians with the Byzantine empire, their future destinies, which will probably lead them to the illustrious monuments of Athens and Sparta, all this ought to turn the Russians to the study of Greek; but it is above all necessary that their writers should draw their poetry from the deepest inspiration of their own soul. Their works, up to this time, have been composed, as one may say, by the lips, and never can a nation so vehement be stirred up by such shrill notes.

#### MOSCOW TO PETERSBURG.

I quitted Moscow with regret; I stopped a short time in a wood near the city, where on holidays the inhabitants go to dance, and celebrate the sun, whose splendour is of such short duration, even at Moscow. What is it then I see, in advancing towards the North? Even these eternal birch-trees, which weary you with their monotony, become very rare, it is said, as you approach Archangel; they are preserved there, like orange-trees in France. The country from Moscow to Petersburg is at first sandy, and afterwards all marsh; when it rains, the ground becomes black, and the high road becomes undistinguishable. The houses of the peasants, however, every where indicate a state of comfort; they are decorated with columns, and the windows are surrounded with arabesques carved in wood. Although it was summer when I passed through this country, I already felt the threatening winter which seemed to conceal itself behind the clouds: of the fruits which were offered to me, the flavour was bitter, because their ripening had been too much hastened; a rose excited emotion in me as a recollection of our fine countries, and the flowers themselves



selves appeared to carry their heads with less pride, as if the icy hand of the North had been already prepared to pluck them.

I passed through Novogorod, which was, six centuries ago, a republic associated with the Hanse towns, and which has preserved for a long period a spirit of republican independence. With the loss of liberty, Novogorod had the mortification to see the gradual disappearance of its population, its commerce, and its wealth: so withering and destructive is the breath of arbitrary power, says the best historian of Russia. Even at the present day the city of Novogorod presents an aspect of singular melancholy; a vast inclosure indicates that it was formerly large and populous, and you see nothing in it but scattered houses, the inhabitants of which seem to be placed there like figures weeping over the tombs. The same spectacle is now probably offered by the beautiful city of Moscow; but the public spirit will rebuild it, as it has reconquered it.

#### ST. PETERSBURG.

From Novogorod to Petersburg, you see scarcely any thing but marshes, and you arrive in one of the finest cities in the world, as if, with a magic wand, an enchanter had made all the wonders of Europe and Asia start up from the middle of the deserts. The foundation of Petersburg offers the greatest proof of that ardour of Russian will, which recognizes nothing as impossible; every thing in the environs is humble, the city is built upon a marsh, and even the marble rests on piles; but you forget when looking at these superb edifices, their frail foundations, and cannot help meditating on the miracle of so fine a city being built in so short a time.

On my arrival at Petersburg my first sentiment was to return thanks to heaven for being on the borders of the sea.

It is said, and properly, that you cannot, at Petersburg, say of a woman, that she is as old as the streets, the streets themselves are so modern. The buildings still possess a dazzling whiteness, and at night when they are lighted by the moon, they look like large white phantoms regarding, immovable, the course of the Neva. I know not what there is particularly beautiful in this river, but the waves of no other I had yet seen ever appeared to me so limpid. A succession of granite quays,

thirty versts in length, borders its course, and this magnificent labour of man is worthy of the transparent water which it adorns.

The Russian inhabitants of Petersburg have the look of a people of the South, condemned to live in the North, and making every effort to struggle with a climate at variance with their nature. The inhabitants of the North are generally very indolent, and dread the cold, precisely because he is their daily enemy. The lower classes of the Russians have none of these habits; the coachmen wait for ten hours at the gate, during winter, without complaining; they sleep upon the snow, under their carriage, and transport the manners of the Lazzaroni of Naples to the sixtieth degree of latitude. You may see them laying on the steps of staircases, like the Germans in their down; sometimes they sleep standing, with their head reclined against the wall. By turns indolent and impetuous, they give themselves up alternately to sleep, or to the most fatiguing employments. Some of them get drunk, in which they differ from the people of the South, who are very sober; but the Russians are so also, and to an extent hardly credible, when the difficulties of war require it.

The day after my arrival I went to dine with one of the most considerable merchants of the city, who exercised hospitality *à la Russe*; that is to say, he placed a flag on the top of his house to signify that he dined at home, and this invitation was sufficient for all his friends. He made us dine in the open air, so much pleasure was felt from these poor days of summer, of which a few yet remained, to which we should have scarcely given the name in the South of Europe. The garden was very agreeable; it was embellished with trees and flowers; but at four paces from the house the deserts and the marshes were again to be seen. In the environs of Petersburg, nature has the look of an enemy who resumes his advantages, when man ceases for a moment to struggle with him.

#### THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

I had at last the pleasure of seeing that monarch, equally absolute by law and custom, and so moderate from his own disposition. The Empress Elizabeth, to whom I was at first presented, appeared to me the tutelary angel of Russia. Her manners are extremely reserved, but what she says is full of life,



life, and it is from the focus of all generous ideas that her sentiments and opinions have derived strength and warmth. While I listened to her, I was affected by something inexpressible, which did not proceed from her grandeur, but from the harmony of her soul; so long was it since I had known an instance of concord between power and virtue. As I was conversing with the empress, the door opened, and the Emperor Alexander did me the honour to come and talk with me. What first struck me in him was such an expression of goodness and dignity, that the two qualities appeared inseparable, and in him to form only one. I was also very much affected with the noble simplicity with which he entered upon the great interests of Europe, almost among the first words he addressed to me. I have always regarded, as a proof of mediocrity, that apprehension of treating serious questions, with which the best part of the sovereigns of Europe have been inspired; they are afraid to pronounce a word to which any real meaning can be attached.

The Emperor Alexander, on the contrary, conversed with me as statesmen in England would have done, who place their strength in themselves, and not in the barriers with which they are surrounded. The Emperor Alexander, whom Napoleon has endeavoured to misrepresent, is a man of remarkable understanding and information, and I do not believe that in the whole extent of his empire he could find a minister better versed than himself in all that belongs to the judgment and direction of public affairs. He did not disguise from me his regret for the admiration to which he had surrendered himself in his intercourse with Napoleon. His grandfather had, in the same way, entertained a great enthusiasm for Frederic II. In these sort of illusions, produced by an extraordinary character, there is always a generous motive, whatever may be the errors that result from it. The Emperor Alexander, however, described with great sagacity the effect produced upon him by these conversations with Bonaparte, in which he said the most opposite things, as if one must be astonished at each, without thinking of their being contradictory. He related to me also the lessons *à la Machiavel* which Napoleon had thought proper to give him: "You see," said he, "I am careful to keep my ministers and generals at vari-

ance among themselves, in order that each may reveal to me the faults of the other; I keep up around me a continual jealousy by the manner I treat those who are about me: one day one thinks himself the favourite, the next day another, so that no one is ever certain of my favour."

In obtaining the conviction of the good faith of the Emperor Alexander, in his relations of Napoleon, I was at the same time persuaded that he would not imitate the example of the unfortunate sovereigns of Germany, and would sign no peace with him who is equally the enemy of people and kings. A noble soul cannot be twice deceived by the same person. Alexander gives and withdraws his confidence with the greatest reflection. His youth and personal advantages have alone, at the beginning of his reign, made him be suspected of levity; but he is serious, even as much so as a man may be who has known misfortune. Alexander expressed to me his regret at not being a great captain: I replied to this noble modesty, that a sovereign was much more rare than a general, and that the support of the public feelings of his people, by his example, was achieving the greatest victory, and the first of the kind which had ever been gained. The Emperor talked to me with enthusiasm of his nation, and of all that it was capable of becoming. He expressed to me the desire, which all the world knows him to entertain, of ameliorating the state of the peasants still subject to slavery. "Sire," said I to him, "your character is a constitution for your empire, and your conscience is the guarantee of it." "Were that even the case," replied he, "I should only be a fortunate accident," Noble words! the first of the kind, I believe, which an absolute monarch ever pronounced! How many virtues it requires, in a despot, properly to estimate despotism! and how many virtues also, never to abuse it, when the nation which he governs is almost astonished at such signal moderation.

From the emperor's I went to his respectable mother's, that princess to whom calumny has never been able to impute a sentiment unconnected with the happiness of her husband, her children, or the family of unfortunate persons of whom she is the protectress. I shall relate, farther on, in what manner she governs that empire of charity, which she exercises in the midst of the



omnipotent empire of her son. She lives in the palace of the Taurida, and to get to her apartment you have to cross a hall, built by Prince Potemkin, of incomparable grandeur; a winter garden occupies a part of it, and you see the trees and plants through the pillars which surround the middle inclosure. Every thing in this residence is colossal; the conceptions of the prince who built it were fantastically gigantic. He had towns built in the Crimea, solely that the empress might see them on her passage; he ordered the assault of a fortress, to please a beautiful woman, the Princess Dolgorouki, who had disdained his suit.

#### THE GREAT RUSSIAN NOBILITY.

I went to spend a day at the country seat of Prince Narischkin, great chamberlain of the court, an amiable, easy, and polished man, but who cannot exist without a fête; it is at his house that you obtain a correct notion of that vivacity in their tastes, which explains the defects and qualities of the Russians. The house of M. de Narischkin is always open, and if there happen to be only twenty persons at his country seat, he begins to be weary of this philosophical retreat. Polite to strangers, always in movement, and yet perfectly capable of the reflection required to stand well at court: greedy of the enjoyments of imagination, but placing these only in things and not in books; impatient every where but at court, witty when it is to his advantage to be

so; magnificent rather than ambitious, and seeking in every thing for a certain Asiatic grandeur, in which fortune and rank are more conspicuous than personal advantages. His country seat is as agreeable as it is possible for a place of the kind to be, created by the hand of man: all the surrounding country is marshy and barren; so as to make this residence a perfect Oasis. On ascending the terrace, you see the gulph of Finland, and perceive in the distance the palace which Peter I. built upon its borders; but the space which separates it from the sea and the palace is almost a waste, and the park of M. Narischkin alone charms the eye of the observer. We dined in the house of the Moldavians, that is to say, in a saloon built according to the taste of these people; it was arranged so as to protect from the heat of the sun, a precaution rather needless in Russia. However the imagination is impressed to that degree with the idea that you are living among a people who have only come into the North by accident, that it appears natural to find there the customs of the South, as if the Russians were some day or other to bring to Petersburg the climate of their old country. The table was covered with the fruits of all countries, according to the custom taken from the East, of only letting the fruits appear, while a crowd of servants carried round to each guest the dishes of meat and vegetables they required.



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